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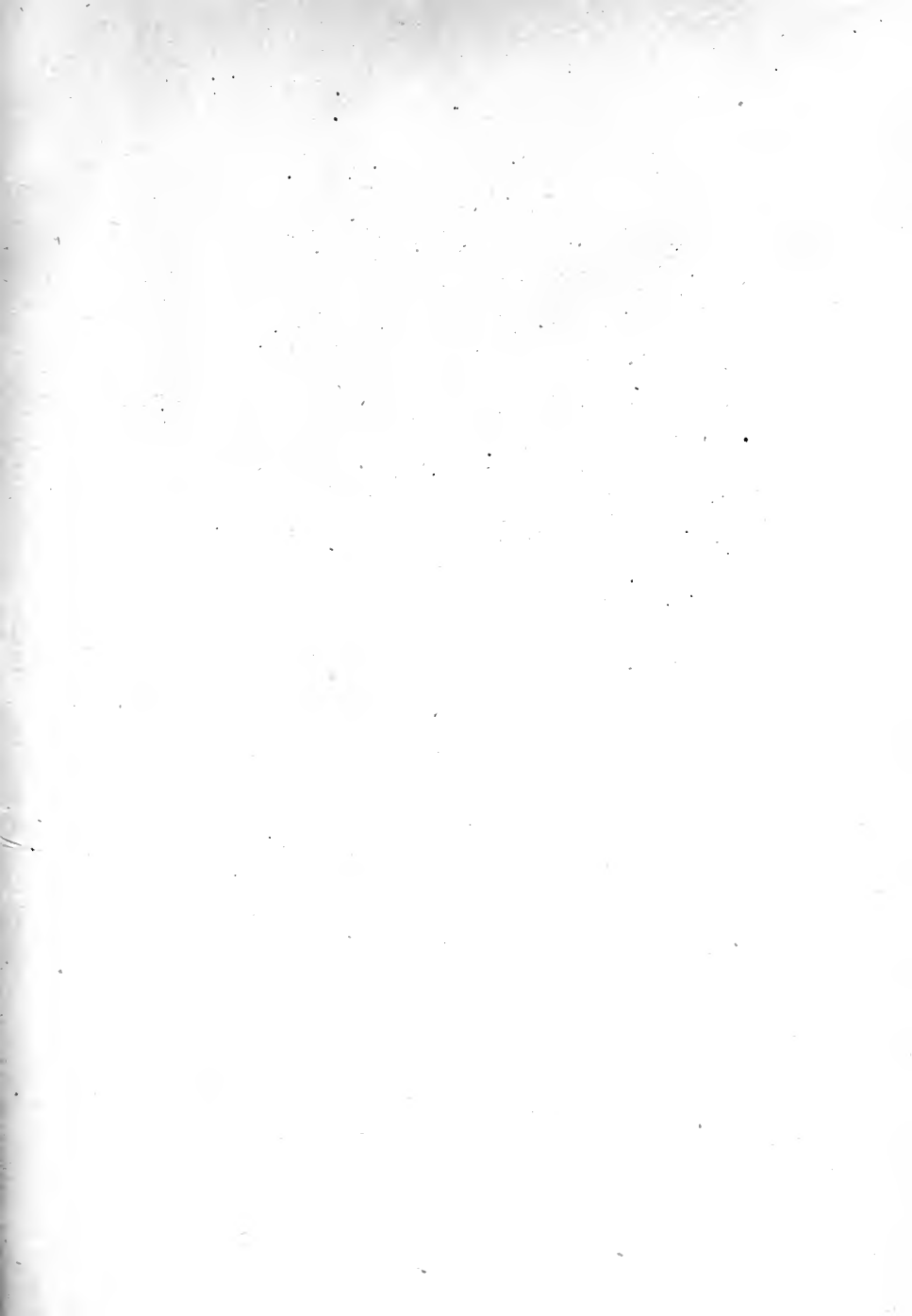
Richard Steels



THE LIFE
OF
RICHARD STEELE

Ballantyne Press

BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON





LADY STEELE.

From the painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

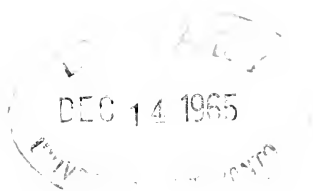
THE LIFE
OF
RICHARD STEELE

BY
GEORGE A. AITKEN

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II.

LONDON
WM. ISBISTER LIMITED
15 & 16 TAVISTOCK STREET COVENT GARDEN
1889

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BOOK SIXTH.

(Continued.)



POLITICS. STEELE AS ENGLISHMAN.

1714. ÆT. 41-2.



IV.—“THE CRISIS.” EXPULSION FROM THE HOUSE.

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IV.

“THE CRISIS.” EXPULSION FROM THE HOUSE.

1714. ET. 41-2.

WITH the opening of the new year we are at once plunged into the political strife. Steele's forthcoming pamphlet, the *Crisis*, had been advertised frequently in the *Englishman*; on the 22nd October subscriptions were invited, and after announcements from time to time of the book being in the press, it was stated on the 26th December that, at the desire of several ladies of quality, the publication was put off till the female world had expressed their zeal for the public by a subscription as large as that made by the other sex. A few days afterwards Swift printed as a quarto pamphlet *The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased; and Addressed to Richard St—le, Esq.*,¹ in which he ridiculed the forthcoming *Crisis* and Steele's share in the politics of the day in his favourite octosyllabics.

“Thou pompously wilt let us know
What all the world knew long ago,”

that the Queen must be succeeded by a German prince, and that leagues were being formed portending ruin to the State.

“Believe me, what thou'st undertaken
May bring in jeopardy thy bacon;
For madmen, children, wits, and fools
Should never meddle with edged tools.”

When Steele had eased his conscience, and settled Europe's grand affairs, he might turn to Drury Lane, and give them

¹ Published on the 6th or 7th January. See *Mercator*, January 2 to 5; *Daily Courant*, January 6; *Englishman*, No. 40, folio.

the play with which he had long threatened the town, and the plot of which appears to have been well known :—

“ To make a pair of jolly fellows,
 ‘ The son and father, join to tell us
 ‘ How sons may safely disobey,
 ‘ And fathers never should say nay ;
 ‘ By which wise conduct they grow friends
 ‘ At last—and so the story ends.’ ”

But now the senate must feel his eloquence and fire, though this might be disturbed by a petition.

“ Methinks I see thee spruce and fine,
 With coat embroidered richly shine
 And dazzle all the idol-faces
 As through the hall thy worship paces.
 (Though this I speak but at a venture,
 Supposing thou hast tick with Hunter.) ”

But, though what is said is all true,

“ All this is foreign to thy walk ;
 Thy genius has perhaps a knack
 At trudging in a beaten track,
 But is for state affairs as fit
 As mine for politics and wit.
 Then let us both in time grow wise,
 Nor higher than our talents rise,
 To some snug cellar let’s repair
 From duns and debts, and drown our care.”

On the 19th January the *Crisis* at length was published. Steele tells us in his *Apology* that the idea of it had been suggested to him by Mr. William Moore of the Inner Temple, “ a man perfectly skilled in the history, the laws, the constitution of this kingdom,” who urged Steele, on account of the kind reception which the world gave to what he published, to do something to counteract the dangerous insinuations every day thrown among the people. What was needed was, that the story of the Hanoverian Succession should be clearly set forth, the laws on the subject reprinted, and “ a warm preface and a well urged peroration ” added. Steele was struck with the idea,

and promised Moore half the profits of the work if he would give his assistance. Moore accordingly put down the sentiments and main positions which were lawful to be said, and Steele revised each paragraph.¹ Besides this, Steele sent copies to Addison, Hoadly, Lechmere, and Minshull, and "from these corrected copies (no one of these gentlemen knowing till this day that the other had seen it) the *Crisis* became the piece it is." "Very able men passed and approved every word of it," while Steele put the last touch to the book, and probably supplied the Preface and the cleverly written Dedication to the Clergy, who were, of course, in sympathy, as a class, with the Tory party. "When I thought it my duty" to oppose the Government, he afterwards wrote, "I thank God, I had no further consideration for myself than to do it in a lawful and

¹ Moore wrote to Lord Macclesfield on the 6th June 1716, that had matters been carried to extremities against Steele on account of writing the *Crisis*, his (Moore's) fate would have been still more severe, because the fact that he was a lawyer would have been considered an aggravation of the crime (Somerville's *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*). Among the letters from Moore to Lord Chancellor Macclesfield (Stowe MSS. 233, British Museum) is one dated 8th August 1716, in which he speaks of the duties of the new post, given him by Walpole, of Master of the References for England to the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates; and this letter is endorsed on the back: "This M^r Moore was author of the *Chrisis* attributed to Sir Rich^d Steele. The Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Douglas, and myself have several letters of M^r Moore to Lord Macclesfield which give the history of that Pamphlett." And another letter, 23rd September 1717, bears a briefer endorsement to the same effect. In the third of four volumes of "Adversaria" among the Earl of Egmont's MSS., written about the middle of the last century, it is stated that some hints of the *Crisis* were given Steele "By Dr. Tennison, AB of Canterbury, whose Steward procured large contributions towards it." Among the Blenheim MSS. is a "Collection of State Tracts," of twelve quarto pages, probably drawn up for use when the *Crisis* was being written. It consists of an abstract of enactments, &c., relating to the Succession, such as the Bill of Rights, with heads of the events that occurred at, and previous to, the accession of William III. Mr Frederick Locker-Lampson has kindly sent me a copy of a note from Steele to Ambrose Philips which appears to relate to the same subject.

BLOOMSBURY-SQUARE

Jan. 31st, 1714^½

DEAR S^r

I thank you and M^r Johnson for the Curious Peice you sent me. I should be mightily obliged to M^r Johnson if He could lend me Spelman's book with the place turned down.

Y^r obedient Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

To Mr. A. Philips.

proper way, so as to give no disparagement to a glorious cause from my indiscretion or want of judgment." Attacks upon the Ministry seemed wild when made by nameless authors, but when any man put his name to an assertion that things were amiss, it must be proved to be calumny. "And I was willing to ripen the question of the Succession upon my own head."¹

During the week following the publication of the *Crisis* Steele was very busy arranging with the party leaders for a wide circulation of the pamphlet throughout the kingdom. The subscriptions were said to have numbered 40,000.²

A number of pamphlets at once appeared on both sides after the publication of the *Crisis*, but they contain nothing of special interest,³ and on the 25th January a pirated edition of the *Crisis* was published in octavo, "very imperfect and erroneous."⁴ Steele remarks that invectives against him "came out stitched, bound, and in loose papers for some months every week."⁵ The *Crisis*, however, was not to be without an able reply, for the *Examiner* announced on the 1st February that "In a few days will be published, The Public Spirit of the Whigs, set forth in the

¹ *Apology*, Preface.

² *Jack the Courtier's Answer to Dick the Englishman's Close of the Paper so called*; "As also to the familiar epistle sent him to Windsor: With a congratulatory address to the Author R— S— Esq., upon the late success of his first compliment in St. Stephen's Chapel, at the choice of Sir T— H—re for Speaker," p. 4. The writer remarks that 40,000 shilling subscriptions would bring in £2000, which would well recompense Steele for his loss of office, without mentioning secret service money. This pamphlet, published at the end of February, repeats the allusion to Steele's connection with Carrickfergus.

³ The aim of these pamphlets is sufficiently shown by their titles: *A Brief History of the Succession to the Crown of England. Wherein Facts, Collected from the Best Authorities, are Opposed to the Novel Assertors of Indefeasible Hereditary Right*; *The False Alarm: or, Remarks upon Mr. Steele's Crisis*, 1614 (sic); *Remarks upon Mr. Steele's Crisis Humbly Inscribed to the Clergy of the Church of England*, published on January 23 (*Examiner*, January 18–22); *Remarks on Mr. Steele's Crisis, &c. By One of the Clergy. In a Letter to the Author*, signed B. R., and published on January 26 (*Post-Boy*, January 23–26, 1713–14); *Extracts of Remarkable Passages out of Mr. Steele's Writings* (undated); *A Letter to Mr. Steele, Concerning the Removal of the Pretender from Lorrain, Occasioned by the Crisis*, signed "Tim Tomkins" (undated); *The Conduct of the Tories Considered*, 1715, &c.

⁴ *Daily Courant*, January 26, 1714.

⁵ *Apology*, Preface.

generous encouragement of the Author of the Crisis: With some observations on the seasonableness, candor, erudition and style of that treatise. Price 6d. but to the Subscribers half a crown. Note, this work will be printed in Quarto, fit to be bound up with the Crisis."

Before, however, this, Swift's second attack upon the *Crisis*, appeared, the country passed through a period of great excitement, caused by the serious illness of the Queen and the dissensions between the Ministers. The air was full of rumours of the intended landing of the Pretender; on the 29th January there was a panic in the City, and a run upon the Bank commenced, which lasted for some days. In order to reassure the people, the Queen wrote to the Lord Mayor on the 1st February that she was so far restored in health as to be able to open Parliament on the 16th, the day appointed, and this served to allay the prevalent feeling of uneasiness. On the 4th February¹ Mrs. Manley endeavoured to make political capital out of the situation by publishing a pamphlet called *A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed by a Certain Set of People, upon the Spreading of a Report of Her Majesty's Death*, in which she spoke of "Ridpath, Dick Steele, and their associates." Two days later a rather lengthy poem called *The Life of Cato the Censor. Humbly Dedicated to R. S—le, Esq.*, appeared, with an Epistle Dedicatory suitably signed "Daniel Dogeril."² It is coarse and stupid, and contains no information.

On the 15th February the 57th and last number of the *Englishman* was published, in the form of a quarto pamphlet,³ in order that Steele might have space to explain himself "with relation to the many things I have written which have given offence." While he regretted the loss of the kind thoughts of many of all conditions, he felt that he had the testimony of a good conscience. Many unknown writers had attacked him as if he was an inveterate and personal enemy, dwelling more on his birth,

¹ *Mercator*, February 2-4, 1713[-4].

² *Post-Boy*, February 4-6, 1713-14.

³ There was a second edition in two days (*Daily Courant*, February 17, 1714). In the *Post-Boy* for February 16-18 an article appeared denying the truth of what Steele here said about Dunkirk, and inviting him to disclaim the authorship of so foul an imputation.

education, and fortune than on what concerned the argument. As regards such invectives, he would only declare that whoever talked with him was speaking to a gentleman born. Steele then proceeded to notice in detail passages in the *Examiner* and other publications, and after quoting a bitter attack from Toby's *Character of Richard Steele, Esq.*, added: "I think I know the author of this, and to shew him I know no revenge but in the method of heaping coals on his head by benefits, I forbear giving him what he deserves; for no other reason, but that I know his sensibility of reproach is such, as that he would be unable to bear life itself under half the ill language he has given me." He found the work upon which he had been engaged irksome and painful, and for the future, he said, "I will strive to make myself as easy as I can, and consult (like other people) my own quiet and happiness." Swift was spoken of very differently in a pamphlet called *Essays Divine, Moral, and Political*, with a curious engraving of the Dean on horseback. In the Dedication to Prince Posterity, Swift is made to defend himself against two pretended crimes; first, "the breach of friendship with my old acquaintance and bottle-companion, Dick Steele;" and, secondly, his hatred of Wharton and libels upon the whole Junto. Friendship, it is argued, is nothing when it interferes with interest; and Steele had disoblged Swift's most noble patron, and was judged the fittest person to revenge his injuries, because, by their intimacy, Swift had found his way into Steele's bosom, and knew his weak side. He gloried in the authorship of Toby's *Character*. Later on in the pamphlet Swift is made to describe how he had rendered Steele occasional aid in the *Tatler*, until he grew jealous of Steele's reputation, and betrayed him into engaging in party questions, by publishing the letter from Downes the Prompter, which was the beginning of his ruin. Tories would now no longer allow Steele either wit or learning, or even common sense, and they ascribed to Swift all the witty papers. "I would have drawn him into a recantation, and by that means have effectually ruined him with both parties, but he was always immoveable;" and so at last Swift appeared as a professed enemy. The method adopted in the *Character* would meet with

approbation, and procure the author esteem, or, what's better, money, "for the pamphlet will certainly sell." Such were the *Essays*, &c., which Mr. Dilke, strangely enough, thought were by Steele.¹ Steele's style, even in the heat of controversy, was very different from this; he never lowered himself, like Swift, to the Grub Street level. The bitter tone adopted by Steele's opponents, taken together with the immense numbers of replies to his pamphlets, affords ample evidence of the importance attached to them by the Tories.

Parliament met on the 16th February, when Steele took his seat, and was among those who supported the motion that Sir Thomas Hanmer should be Speaker.² In his speech of a few lines, which was at once published as a quarto pamphlet of five pages, Steele referred approvingly to the part Hanmer had played in securing the rejection of the bill of commerce. "He rose up to do Sir Thomas Hanmer honour, and distinguish himself by giving that gentleman his vote for that his inestimable service." Clamour began when Steele mentioned the bill of commerce, and it grew in intensity when he spoke of doing Hanmer honour. At these words members shouted, "The Tatler! the Tatler!" though the phrase used by Steele was, of course, a well-known classical form. But it was twisted to mean, as Swift put it, that Steele had risen up—

"Like an audacious elf,

To do the speaker honour, not thyself."³

¹ *Papers of a Critic*, i. 366-9. The pamphlet is now generally attributed to Judge Thomas Burnet, son of Bishop Burnet, who is also supposed to have written *A Second Tale of a Tub*; or, *The History of Robert Powell, the Puppet-Show-Man*, 1715. Swift alludes to Thomas Burnet as one of the Mohocks, in his *Journal*, March 8, 1712; and Pope classes him with Oldmixon in the *Prologue to the Satires*, 147, and *Satires of Dr. Donne*, iv. 61 (Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Div. I., *Political and Personal Satires*, vol. ii. 395-7). A pamphlet called *Dr. S——'s Real Diary*, 1715, is very much in the style of the *Essays*, &c.; and this too, Mr. Dilke suggested, might be by Steele. This is an extract from it: "Wrote Friday's bitter Examiner against St—e. Ha! Dick, thou'rt down, I think. What a d—d hardened honesty that fellow has! And how little wise in his generation."

² "In my humble judgment, he had better for awhile have suspended his politics, and been a *Spectator* in that House, before he became a *Tatler*" ("Toby's Answer out of the H—se, to a Sp—ch spoke therein," *Post-Boy*, February 20-23, 1713-14).

³ *John Dennis the Sheltering Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele*, 1714.

Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen without opposition, and the House adjourned until the 2nd March; but it was commonly said that Steele would never be able to speak again, and Oxford wrote to Arbuthnot that he would be the jest of the House. On the day upon which Parliament met a tract was published, called *A Letter from the Facetious Doctor Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to the Venerable Nestor Ironside, &c.*¹ One passage from this pamphlet, sometimes attributed to Swift, will suffice: "He has a discreet woman to his wife, who keeps a very strict hand over him, and by giving him now and then due and wholesome correction makes him live within decent bounds: For which, though he dares not mutter a syllable within her hearing, for fear of the *strapado*, he rails most bitterly at petticoat government, behind her back."²

Swift's *Public Spirit of the Whigs* appeared on February 23.³ It was a very clever and a very bitter reply to the *Crisis*. Swift sneered at the fact that the *Crisis*, a shilling book, was published by subscription, a course usually adopted only for books of great price, and which are not likely to have a general sale. The pamphlet was, he said, sent broadcast over the country by peers and gentlemen, who, however, would not pretend they had read it themselves, but thought it would "do a

¹ *Post-Boy*, February 18-20, 1713-14; *Mercator*, February 11-13, 1713[-4]. In the *Post-Boy* for April 13-15, 1714, there was a declaration from Dr. A. Tripe, dated Bath, March 27, 1714, to the effect that this pamphlet was written and published without his privity and consent. Though he had no great opinion of the abilities of Nestor Ironside, he had never written or published any pamphlet either against him or any other person. In an abusive pamphlet called *A True Character of Mr. Pope*, dated May 7, 1716 (of which there is an imperfect copy in the British Museum), it is stated that Pope at the same time openly extolled Steele, and secretly published the infamous libel of *Dr. Andrew Tripe*. The piece called *A Letter from the Facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to his Loving Brother the Profound Greshamite*, printed in 1726 in Dr. Wagstaffe's *Works*, is an entirely different tract, which was first published in 1719, when it passed through two editions. See page 200.

² At the end of this pamphlet there is advertised, "The Testimonies of Several Citizens of Fickleborough, in the Kingdom of Fairy-Land, concerning the Life and Character of Robert Hush, commonly called Bob. To which is prefixed, some Memoirs of the Life of Charity Hush, the Grandfather, and of Oliver Hush, the Father of the said Bob." Another tract, of no special importance, was called *An Invitation to Peace: or, Toby's Preliminaries to Nestor Ironsides, set forth in a Dialogue between Toby and his Kinsman*.

³ *Post-Boy*, February 20-23, 1713-14. The third edition, corrected, was advertised in the *Mercator* for March 11-13.

world of good," because it was against the ministry, and talked of slavery, France, and the Pretender: they desired no more. By what authority did Steele direct the clergy to recommend his comments from the pulpit or the press? "I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation at seeing the character of a Censor, a Guardian, an Englishman, a commentator on the laws, an instructor of the clergy, assumed by a child of obscurity without one single qualification to support them." As regards Steele's interference with Dunkirk, it would be better for Lewis XIV. himself rather than Steele to have the direction in the demolition, "because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in demolishing at home than abroad." And this is how Swift concludes: "I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the articles of his birth, education, or fortune; for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HUMAN CREATURE."¹ Two days later a feeble

¹ There is a curious unsigned letter to Steele in the Bodleian Library (Rawl. MS., C. 993, f. 99), in which the writer says: "I do not know that any Man living hath a greater sence of the Service as an Englishman you have done the Nation, nay other Countrys that have any Liberty to loose, or that yo^r best ffrriends wou'd more passionately wish you possesst of the Love of all free Subjects, or have more publick Honour paid You by Mankind than myself. Can I then, S^r, doe any Violence to yo^r Temper? part of whose Character is Good Nature, from whom I have often reced Advice and Reproof with Gratitude, Affection, and Honour; To ask leave to put you S^r likewise in mind in the most Modest and acceptable way I could possibly think" that there is a far higher character than that of an Englishman, viz., that of a Christian. "Judge, I say, S^r, what Mortification I have undergone in being lately assur'd by one or more of yo^r ffrriends who are almost daily with you that to the other blemishes of yo^r Life, for w^{ch} you have in yo^r prayers made a publick recantation, you still allow yourself in the Scandalous, Unaccountable, Diabollcall Sin of profane Swearing." Of this practice the most admired of Steele's friends and patrons were ashamed, and he had himself in print declaimed against it. What a reproach was such a man, and how aggravated his guilt! This letter is signed "Yo^r Affectionate Humble Servant," and on the back Steele wrote—

BROTHER CH.

March 1st 1713.

If you writ the enclosed or procured it to be written I thank you, and desire you to send it me again, and know I have very much left off that Vice but the Times are y^e worst that ever were for reforming that Sin above all others.

Y^{rs} faithfully

R. S.

satire appeared, called *A Speech Supposed to be Spoke by R—— St——l, Esq., at the Opening this Present Parliament, with some Remarks in a Letter to the Bailiff of St——dge, very proper to be Bound up with the Crisis*, which dwelt upon the very high opinion Steele had of his own importance. On the same day, the 25th February, Steele started a new periodical, the *Lover*, but of this it will be more convenient to speak later on.

In her speech to both Houses, read on the 2nd March, the Queen said that she could not allude without some degree of warmth to those who were so malicious as to insinuate that the Protestant Succession was in danger under her government. "Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischief upon us." In their address of thanks, presented on the 5th, the Commons said that they would, "on all occasions, show their just abhorrence of the licentious practices in publishing scandalous papers, and speaking seditious rumours." In the meantime, on the 3rd March, the long-threatened petition against Steele's return on the ground of bribery was lodged by Sir Richard Vernon and James, Earl of Barrymore, an Irish peer, who was elected member for Stockbridge on the 30th April, after Steele's expulsion. But this petition was the seventeenth of the kind on the list, and it was resolved to get rid of Steele by a shorter method, namely, through his writings. Accordingly, Mr. Hungerford, a lawyer who had himself been expelled the House for bribery, moved, on the 11th March, to take into consideration that part of the Queen's Speech which related to the suppressing of seditious libels, and complained of several scurrilous papers lately published by Steele. He was supported by Mr. Auditor Foley and Sir William Wyndham; but Mr. Arthur Moore represented that as Steele was a member of the House they ought not to fall upon him in his absence, and it was thereupon resolved to put off the consideration of the matter till the next day. The following notes contain the account of what was passing sent by Steele to his wife:—

March 11th 1713-4.

DEAR PRUE:

I send this to let You Know that L^d Hallifax would not let Me go to the House, but thought it would be better to have the first attack made in my absence. Mr. Foley was the Gentleman who did me that Honour but they could not bring it to bear so far as to obtain an Order for my attending in my place, or any thing else to my disadvantage than that all Pamphlets are to come on Saturday.

L^d Hallifax, in the House of Lords told the ministrey that He beleived if they would recommend the Crisis to Her Ma^{ties} perusall she would think quite otherwise of the book than they do.

I think they have begun very Unhappily and Ungracefully against Me and doubt not but God will turn their malice to the advantage of the innocent.

Y^r Faithfull Husband and Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

BOW-STREET,

March 12th 1713-4.

DEAR PRUE

I am going to Mr. Walpole's to meet some Freinds, there is nothing can arise to Me which ought to afflict you, therefore Pray be a Roman Lady and assume a Courage equall to y^r Goodnesse. The Q——n is very ill.

Y^r Faithfull very Chearfull Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

Do not mention, if you see Harris the businesse of the Q——.

On Friday the 12th Mr. Auditor Foley made a formal complaint against certain paragraphs of three pamphlets,—the *Englishman* for January 19, the *Crisis*, and the last number of the *Englishman*. These pamphlets were, accordingly, brought up to the table, and Steele was ordered to attend in his place next morning. On that day, Saturday the 13th, in a crowded House, several paragraphs from the pamphlets complained of were read, and Mr. Foley, Mr. Harley, brother of the Lord Treasurer, and others animadverted upon the rancour and seditious spirit conspicuous in those writings. Mr. James Craggs, jun., was greeted with cries of "Order" when he rose to speak on Steele's behalf, and there were demands that Steele should be heard himself in his place. Upon this Steele said

that as he had been attacked upon several heads without any notice, he hoped the House would allow him a week, or at least until Thursday, to prepare his defence. Foley and Harley objected, and proposed an adjournment till Monday, but Steele, knowing they were both rigid Presbyterians, put members into a good humour by professing a hope that these gentlemen would not force him to break the Sabbath by perusing on that day such profane writings as might serve for his justification, and so carried his point. Encouraged by this success, Steele assumed the offensive, and on Monday the 15th moved that an address be presented to the Queen that she would be pleased to give directions that the representations of the officers who had had the care and inspection of the demolition of Dunkirk and all instructions and orders given thereupon be laid before the House. But when the previous question was put, whether this question should be then put, it was carried in the negative by 214 votes against 109. From that moment, Steele says, he despaired of his cause.

In the meantime, curiously enough, action was being taken in the House of Lords against Swift's reply to the *Crisis*. The Earl of Wharton complained of a libel, entitled *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, and especially of the comments contained in it upon the Union and the Scotch nation and nobility.¹ The matter was warmly taken up by the House, and Morphew, the publisher, and Barber, the printer, were both ordered into the custody of the Black Rod. The Peers then expressed their feelings in the matter by means of an address to the Queen, in which they said that they had not been able to find the author of the libel, and in order that nothing might be wanting

¹ Defoe answered the portions of Swift's pamphlet relating to Scotland and the Union in a tract called *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated from the Reflections cast on them in an Infamous Libel entitled The Public Spirit of the Whigs, &c.* He would not, he said, concern himself with Swift's answer to the *Crisis*: "I shall suppose the author of the *Crisis* and he are able to carry on their own war without any foreign alliances." There was also an obscure attack on Swift and Oldisworth, called *The Public Spirit of the Tories manifested in the Case of the Irish Dean and his Man Timothy*, published on March 18, according to a note in the copy in the British Museum. "What," says the writer, "is Public Spirit other than to be ready to engage in anything to serve the turn and interest of a party?"

on their parts towards the discovering and punishing so great a criminal, they asked that a proclamation might be issued offering a reward for the discovery of the writer. The Queen at once consented to a proclamation being published, offering a reward of three hundred pounds; but the authorship was, of course, not brought home to Swift, who afterwards said that the Queen and Ministry had no desire to have the author into custody. Peter Wentworth wrote to Lord Strafford: "The Whigs guesses it to be Dr. Swift's. The lords have the Printer in custody, who they say will not confess, but if the worst comes to the worst, I hear they have found out a man that will own, w^{ch} will save the Doctor's Bacon."¹

On the 18th March, Steele's case came on for hearing. There was a very great concourse, and several gentlemen who had placed themselves in the galleries and the Speaker's chambers, and refused to withdraw, were ordered into custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. The Lords, too, appear to have been turned out, and to have afterwards retaliated against members of the House of Commons.² When the order of the day had been read, Steele, being asked whether he was the author of the pamphlets complained of, at once acknowledged that he had written and published them. "I writ them in behalf of the House of Hanover, and I own them with the same unreservedness with which I abjured the Pretender."³ Steele had chosen to make his appearance near the Bar of the House, and his affliction was, he says, much sweetened by the fact that he had the honour to stand between General Stanhope and Walpole, then only Mr. Walpole. Addison, too, was by his side, ready to advise. His acknowledgment of the pamphlets gave rise to a long debate upon the method of proceeding. Foley proposed that Steele should withdraw, but this was negatived. Steele

¹ *Wentworth Papers*, 359.

² *Ibid.*, 365.

³ Steele's *Apology*. The story of these proceedings in the House of Commons is told in the *Apology*; in a pamphlet called *The Case of Richard Steele, Esq.*, published on the 24th March; in Boyer's *Political State*; *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*; *The History of the First and Second Session of the Last Parliament, wherein are contained the Debates at large in Mr. Steele's Case, with his Defence of himself, &c.*, by G. F., Gent., with a Dedication to Steele, dated October 18, 1714; and elsewhere.

then asked that he might answer what was urged against him paragraph by paragraph, but though he was supported by Walpole, General Stanhope, Lord Finch, and Lord Hinchinbroke, it was carried that he should proceed to make his defence generally upon the charge given against him. He accordingly rose, and making use of his papers, sometimes spoke, but chiefly read, his defence. Boyer says that "for near three hours" he spoke "with such a temper, modesty, unconcern, easy and manly eloquence, as gave entire satisfaction to all who were not inveterately prepossessed against him." The speech is given at considerable length in the *Apology*. Steele began by saying that owing to want of sleep, worry caused by uncertainty as to what form his answer would have to take, and the short time that had been available for preparing his papers, he was in a very ill condition to make a defence. If he had been betrayed into any errors, he hoped that the goodness of the motives which occasioned them would extenuate and cover them. He had been loaded with calumnies by the writers who were the professed advocates of the Ministry, and he had met with cruel and ungenerous usage from an author who was a champion for the ministers. "No longer since than last Friday he has fallen upon me with that rage and malice which is unbecoming a scholar, a gentleman, or a Christian."¹ "It is a brief of the charge against me before this House. It was in answer to this writer that I first employed my pen, and, as I thought, for the service of my country." No man of any spirit could receive the injuries he had described, no honest man could see others so barbarously

¹ In the *Examiner*, March 8-12, 1713[-4]. It will be observed that Steele here again speaks of Swift as the author of the *Examiner*. The particular number referred to is not distinguished for anything but abuse. The writer says many thousands of the *Crisis* were disposed of *gratis*, and that two days after publication he procured a copy for threepence, whence, if there had been the least danger of piracy, he would almost have suspected its genuineness. Steele's statement as to the sensibility of reproach of the author of Toby's *Character* is noticed, and Steele is spoken of as Teague the Englishman. As regards Swift's connection with the *Examiner* at this time, it may be noted that in a postscript to the number for February 26-March 1 the writer gives certain errata in *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*: "I had a letter on Friday last, which I suppose to have come from the author of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, &c., wherein he desires I would let the world know," &c.

treated, without resenting it. This great affair had indeed been only a paper war between two private persons. He thought he had reason for fears of the Pretender, and it was safer in this great case to be affrighted with imaginary danger than lulled into imaginary security. As for the Universities, he had never spoken disrespectfully of them, but always felt the greatest esteem for those learned bodies, "in one of which I received a part of my education, and where I can still boast of much personal friendship and acquaintance." Neither did he intend to imply that the English clergy were against the Protestant succession; he should always have a veneration for them, because he had been bred up from his infancy in the doctrine of the Church of England. "If I can arrogate to myself any little merit from the writings which I have published, it is chiefly this: That I have personally opposed such authors as have endeavoured to ridicule religion, and those holy professors of it." In support of this he quoted passages from several of his works, including one from the *Tatler*, in which, speaking of Swift's "Project for the advancement of religion," he had quoted what some one had said, "The man writes much like a gentleman, and goes to heaven with a very good mein." "The gentleman I here intended was Dr. Swift; this kind of man I thought him at that time. We have not met of late, but I hope he deserves this character still." Why should not what he had written in the interests of virtue and religion now plead for him? He hoped that those who had done their utmost to bring him into misfortune might in their day of adversity have the same foundation for support in themselves and claim to the favour of the House. "That which I shall insist on is this; that if an author's words, in the obvious and natural interpretation of them, have a meaning which is innocent, they cannot without great injustice be condemned of another meaning which is criminal." If it was a crime to speak honourably of the Duke of Marlborough, it was a crime that he must always be guilty of, and which showed him to be a lover of his country. As regards Dunkirk, the event, he regretted to say, justified the apprehensions which he had expressed. "I think that I have not offended against any law

in being : I think that I have taken no more liberty than what is consistent with the laws of the land : if I have, let me be tried by those laws. Is not the executive power sufficiently armed to inflict a proper punishment on all kinds of criminals? Why then should one part of the Legislative power take this executive power into its own hands? But, Sir, I throw myself upon the honour of this House, who are able, as well as obliged, to screen any commoner of England from the wrath of the most powerful man in it ; and who will never sacrifice a Member of their own body to the resentment of any single Minister."

So ended Steele's speech. "Most of what I said," he explains in the *Apology*, "was put into my mouth by my friends,¹ whose kindness and discretion prevented my adding to these forcible arguments many honest truths which they thought would authorise a severity from the House to me, rather than secure me against their resentment." After bowing to the Speaker, Steele withdrew, and candles were ordered to be brought in. Knowing well what he was to look forward to, Steele went at once, we are told, to Lord Halifax's house, where he had some refreshment, and then went home.² But this does not seem to be borne out by the following letter, which he addressed to his wife from the Temple at seven o'clock. Mrs. Keck, wife of Robert Keck, a lawyer, was a great friend of Mrs. Steele's, and was very kind to Steele's children after their mother's death.

March 18,³ 1713-4,
TEMPLE, 7 of clock.

DEAR PRUE

I have made my defence and am ordered to Withdraw. Addison was sent out after Me, from my freinds, to bid Me not to be seen till I heard what will be the Censure. If you please to go to Mrs. Kecks, I will send to You thither by a Porter an hour or two hence. Nothing can happen to [make] my Condition in private the Worse, and I have busied myself enough for the publick. The next is for you and y^{rs}.

RICHARD STEELE.

¹ Walpole is said to have rendered considerable assistance (Coxe's *Walpole*, 1798, i. 45).

² *The History of the First and Second Session of the Late Parliament*, 34.

³ The original is misdated March 17.

Mr. Foley opened the debate in a short speech, in which he said it was plain that the writings complained of were seditious and scandalous, injurious to the Government, the Church, and the Universities, and moved that the question should be put thereupon. Walpole followed with a long and eloquent speech in Steele's favour,¹ and was succeeded by his brother, Horace Walpole, Lord Finch, Lord Lumley, Lord Hinchinbroke, and others on the same side. Lord Finch was the brother of the Lady Charlotte whom Steele had defended against the attacks of the *Examiner*; he was a new member, and when he rose to speak broke down, and resumed his seat, with the exclamation, "It is strange I can't speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him." Friends sitting near the young man applauded his words, and he was encouraged to rise again, when he made, we are told, an eloquent speech.² All these efforts, however, availed Steele nothing in the Tory House, and the motion for his expulsion was carried by 245 votes against 152.³ Some members wanted more extreme measures to be taken, and according to one account, it was moved that Steele should be committed as well as expelled. Whereupon Mr. C——r [Collier?] remarked sarcastically that "there needed not that act of justice from them, for if once he should be expelled, his creditors would take that business from off their hands, and most certainly commit him." Mr. Auditor Harley, alluding, as the narrative puts it, to the same misfortune of his being more than ordinarily generous, out of his excess of compassion for the distressed, said "he could prove him not worth a groat."⁴ This further motion would appear not to have been pushed to a division. The decision of the House was arrived at at eleven o'clock on the

¹ Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 44, 45.

² *Lover*, No. 18. Lord Finch was elected to Parliament in 1711, and, after holding several offices, succeeded to the peerage upon his father's death on the 1st January 1730. He died in 1769, in his 81st year.

³ A list of the members who voted against his expulsion is prefixed to Steele's *Apology*, and is also given in a pamphlet published at the end of 1714: *The Miscarriages of the Whig Ministry, . . . To which is added, A true and exact list of these Members who, to their great dishonour, voted against the expulsion of Mr. Steele* (sic).

⁴ *The History of the First and Second Session of the Late Parliament* (1714),

night of the 18th, after five hours' debate,¹ and the writer of the *Case of Richard Steele* says that the *Examiner*, dated March 15-19, contained an account of it, although the paper was printed by noon on that day, twelve hours before the vote was taken. This, however, is not the case, for this number of the *Examiner*, which consists of an imaginary letter to Steele, does not allude, directly at least, to any proceedings in Parliament, and certainly not to their result, for the conclusion is, that certain expressions of Steele's "may serve to convince the rest of mankind that a *very great deal is due to you*, which, I hope, you will *shortly receive, in full of all accounts.*" It is evident, however, that there was no doubt in the mind of the writer of what the result of the debate would be.

On the next day Steele wrote that he was in great good-humour, and in no concern. At first he entertained the idea of forcing the House to take further action in his case, and accordingly, on the 19th, the day after his expulsion, he wrote to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer.²

March 19th, 1713-4, BLOOMESBURY-SQUARE.

SIR,

The vote which passed upon me last night has, as far as common fame can do it, made me a seditious man. The whole tenour of my life and actions has been such as gave me hopes of another treatment. My friends about me tooke me down when I was going to throw away my papers, and speake what I thought most material for the consideration of the house on that occasion; but that is now too late to think of.

I am pronounced a guilty man by an awfull assembly, but an assembly which cannot act in points of justice but in a discretionary or declarative way. They can say what they think of a thing, but I do not know whether they can go any further but by way of laying accusations before another court.

I writ what I writ with the laws in my view, and thought myself safe as long as I had them on my side. I am sure I did what I did in order to preserve them, and they are now my refuge. It is some comfort to me that my adversaries were reduced to the lamentable

¹ *The History of the First and Second Session of the Late Parliament (1714)*, 35.

² *Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.*, edited by Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart., 1838, 156-161.

shift of saying, that tho' what I said were true, I should be an offender in saying it. This is a monstrous position, for hell is the only place which can be destroyed by truth. My reputation, which is dearer to me than my life, is wounded by this vote, and I know no way to heal it but by appealing to the laws of my countrey, that they may have their due effect in the protection of innocence. I thereby humbly desire proper questions may be put to bring about resolutions of this kind, to wit,—

That Mr. Steele, who is expelled this house for —, may be prosecuted at law for his said offence, and that no non pros. or noli prosequi may be admitted in his case.

That Mr. Steele is *or is not* capable of being re-elected into this present parliament.

I am accused of undutifulnesse to the Queen. I hope it will appear to all the world I have not deserved that imputation. If I have, through weaknesse, done anything that will support such an accusation, I know she is mercifull, and I, who have erred (if I have erred) from a good motive, shall be a proper object on which to exert that disposition in my sovereign. I desire, if I have committed any crime, to owe my safety from punishment to no other being upon earth.

I assure you it is a painful circumstance of my present mortification, that it robs me of the hopes of your acquaintance and friendship, which I fear it is against rules you should honour a man with, who is under the disgrace of those whome you represent. As for the rest, I ought not to be much troubled at my leaving a place wherein I was so unacceptable as not to be suffered, on the most popular subject imaginable, that of expressing my self,

S^r, Y^r most obedient and

most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

Hanmer replied, on the following day, that he could only acknowledge Steele's letter. The resolutions suggested could not be put, because all debate on that subject was closed and at an end; and if there were still opportunity, it could not come properly from the person whose deeds or writings were under consideration to direct or propose what the judgment should be, or how far the punishment should extend. Every one must submit to the legal jurisdictions established in the country for the application and execution of the laws. In this case

there was no appeal, and the Speaker hoped that Steele would lay aside all thoughts of anything that looked like it. On the 21st Steele answered that he was greatly obliged for the clearness and perspicuity with which Hanmer had explained to him his error in endeavouring to obtain another examination of his writings. "Before I had the honour of receiving yours, I had written to Mr. Wortley that your hesitation in the matter had determined me that I had taken a wrong way." So ends Steele's first brief and stormy experience of Parliament, and the record is certainly not to the credit of the majority of the House.

Pope wrote to Caryll on February 25, 1714, with reference to the *Crisis*: "I believe Mr. Steele has hurt himself more every way than his worst enemies would have done;" and on March 19, 1714, he again wrote (in a letter which was, absurdly enough, used in fabricating an imaginary letter to Congreve, dated March 19, 1715): "Yesterday Mr. Steele's affair was decided in his expulsion from the House. I am sorry I can be of no other opinion than yours as to his whole carriage and writings of late. But certainly he has not only been punished by others, but suffered much even from his own party in the point of character, nor, I believe, received any amends in that of interest, as yet, whatever may be his prospects for the future. This gentleman, among a thousand others, is a great instance of the fate of all who are carried away by party spirit of any side. I wish all violence may succeed as ill: but am really amazed that so much of that vile and pernicious quality should be joined with so much natural good humour as I think Mr. Steele has." Hearne, in his *Diary*,¹ speaks less courteously: "March 23^d, Tuesday. Richard Steel, Esq^r, Member of Parl. was on Thursday last, about 12 o'clock at Night, expelled the House of Commons for a Roguish Pamphlett called the *Crisis*, & for several other Pamphletts, in w^{ch} he hath abused the Q[ueen], &c. This Steel was formerly of Christ Church in Oxford, and afterwards of Merton-College. He was a rakish, wild, drunken Spark; but he got a good Reputation by publishing a Paper that came out daily [*sic*] called the Tattler, and

¹ Vol. xlix. p. 161 (Bodleian Library).

by another called the Spectator ; but the most ingenious of these Papers were written by M^r Addison, and D^r Swift, as 'tis reported. And when these last two had left him, he appeared to be a mean, heavy, weak Writer, as is sufficiently demonstrated in his Papers called the Guardian, the Englishman, and the Lover. He now writes for Bread, being involved in Debt." It is evident that Hearne was a diligent student of the Tory pamphlets, and accepted their statements implicitly. The Duchess of Marlborough took a very different view of things. On the 28th January she wrote that the condition of the country appeared to her to be deplorable, and exactly as Steele described it in the *Crisis*. Should the Pretender be brought back—"I must quote Mr. Steel again: 'Farewell Liberty, all Europe will soon be French.'" On the 26th March she wrote: "Wee have just now heard how Mr. Steele has been used, which I think is far from a dishonour ; but as numbers must save or ruin England, and not wise or honest Men, I give it over."¹

¹ *Letters of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 1875, 88-9, 95.

V.

DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

1714. ET. 41-2.

It is evident that Steele was at this time again in difficulties as regards money. He had lost £400 a year when he became a Member of Parliament, and the expenses of the election were no doubt great. But £3000 were now placed at his disposal by some unknown hands. Ashurst¹ called on the 23rd March, as Steele tells his wife, upon "Your reprehended spouse, and humble servant," about "the business," which Ashurst thought would do beyond expectation. On the 25th, Steele had more certain information, but the benefactor remained unknown.

EASTER SUNDAY

March 28th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I write this to acquaint You that I am going to Dr. West's Chapell.²

I cannot learn any thing of our great businesse more than that it is a doing, and my Chief Creditor seems easy in Expectation of His money that Way.

I am going this morning to a very solemn Work and invoke

¹ The Mr. Ashurst who sued Steele for debt in 1712 was Benjamin Ashurst. Probably Steele's friend was William Ashurst, Esq., who lost the post of Accountant and Controller General of the Stamp Duties on vellum, parchment, and paper, with a salary of £300, and £150 for three clerks, at Lady Day 1714, the very time at which these letters were written (Home Office Docquets, Public Record Office, April 1714).

² Richard West, D.D., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, archdeacon of Berks, and prebendary of Winchester. He was a popular preacher, and published eight single sermons, on public occasions, between 1706 and 1716. [Nichols.]

Almighty God to Blesse you and Your little ones beseeching Him to spare me a little life to acquit myself to you and them whome of all the world I have hitherto least endeavoured to Serve. But you and Betty and Dick and Eugene and Molly shall be henceforth my Principall cares next to the keeping a good Conscience.

Y^{rs} Good Prue,

RICHARD STEELE.

Services to Mrs. Keck.

Ap. 1st 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I want the lease and all receipts about the House in York-buildings to which Mr. Reason is Landlord. Pray send them by Harris. I have heard no news to-day but expect some by and by of w^{ch} you shall have an account.

Y^r faithfull Husband & Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

DEVEREUX-COURT,

Ap. 3^d 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I cannot come home having the under sheriffe to speake with first at five of Clock: from thence I shall go to the Play, which I make a place of businesse for I am in hopes of seeing two or Three people in the Boxes whome I cannot see elsewhere. I desire Will may carry the 3 bottles of Wine of mine at Tonsons to Bloomesbury.

I will be at home as soon as the play is done.

Y^{rs} yours Ever Ever

RICHARD STEELE.

With Easter term, which commenced on the 14th April, came several actions for debt. But first we must notice one in which judgment was given in the Hilary term preceding. Peter Des Maizaux, or Desmaiseaux, the biographer of St. Evremond and Bayle, whom Steele had known for some years,¹ brought in a bill in Michaelmas term, 1713, in the Court of Queen's Bench, charging Steele with having given him a promissory note for £21. 10s., on the 18th December 1712, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, which was to be paid on the 20th February 1713. This sum, which appears to have been the whole debt, although there is mention in the Roll, after the fashion already explained, of another £21. 10s, had not been paid, and Desmaiseaux claimed £30 damages. Steele did not

¹ Vol. i. page 219.

appear, and judgment was given against him, but the amount of damages and costs was to be settled after inquiries had been made by the Sheriff, on Wednesday next after the Quindene of Easter.¹ This brings us to Easter term, when there was an action—of which particulars are not given in the Judgment Roll—brought by Thomas Bolton, and another by Peter La Coste, who summoned Steele—“late of the Parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields”—to recover £74, which Steele had borrowed from him on the 1st April just past. Steele’s counsel, William Leche, had nothing to say in defence, and judgment was therefore given in La Coste’s favour on the 14th April, with 50s. damages.² A third suit was brought by Nathaniel Crosley, a maker of perukes, in the parish of the blessed Mary of Bow, in the Ward of Cheap, who complained that on the 13th August 1713, Steele gave him a promissory note for £30, to be paid four months after date; but the money had not been paid, though asked for on the 1st January 1714, upon which date Crosley sold and delivered to Steele at his special request divers goods to the value of £35, and performed and rendered certain works and labours belonging to the art of a peruke-maker, and provided the necessary materials. This money, too, had not been paid, although particularly asked for on the 10th April, and Crosley therefore claimed £50 damages. The case was adjourned to Monday next after the morrow of the Ascension—*i.e.*, May 10—when, as Steele did not put in an appearance the case went against him, but the question of damages and costs was to be inquired into by the Sheriff.³

These proceedings gave an opportunity to Steele’s relentless enemies. One tract, published on the 14th April,⁴ was called

¹ Queen’s Bench Judgment Roll, 12 Anne, Hilary, 334.

² Common Pleas Judgment Roll, 13 Anne, Easter, 393.

³ Queen’s Bench Judgment Roll, 13 Anne, Easter, 204.

⁴ Note in copy in the British Museum, King’s Pamphlets. “Last week was published, *The Crisis upon Crisis, A Poem. Being an Advertisement stuck in the Lion’s Mouth at Button’s: And addressed to Doctor S——t*” (*Post-Boy*, April 20–22, 1714). Francis Hoffman was author of a curious quarto pamphlet, *Two Very Odd Characters, tho’ the Number be Even: Or the Whig Flesh-Fly, and the Industrious Tory Bee*, in which Steele is the Flesh-Fly,—a certain author, an Irishman, with a very wide and foul mouth, duly represented in a full-page emblematical picture.

The Crisis upon Crisis: A Poem. It contains a scandalous reference to "honest Prue," and such lines as the following upon Steele:—

"In peril thus, poor rhyme and reason,
What are they to debts and prison?
Crisis on Crisis, save the Steeles!
No sooner in, than out at heels."

Swift did not hesitate to write in the same style. A week later¹ than *The Crisis upon Crisis*, and published, like that tract, by Morphew, appeared an imitation from Horace, Book I., Epistle v., called *John Dennis the Sheltering Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele, the Secluded Party Writer, to come and live with him in the Mint*. In this pamphlet, which, like the *Public Spirit of the Whigs*, was advertised as "fit to be bound up with the Crisis," Swift, in the name of Dennis, invited Steele to come and feed on the homely fare of the sanctuary for insolvent debtors, the Mint in Southwark,² leaving behind him a crowd of duns, with Philips to cheat their ears with good words.

" 'Tis true that Bloomsbury-square's a noble place;
But what are lofty buildings in thy case?
What's a fine house embellished to profusion,
Where shoulder-dabbers are in execution?
Or whence its timorous tenant seldom sallies,
But apprehensive of insulting bailiffs?
This once be mindful of a friend's advice,
And cease to be improvidently nice;
Exchange the prospects that delude thy sight,
From Highgate's steep ascent and Hampstead's height,
With verdant scenes, that, from St. George's Field,
More durable and safe enjoyments yield."

Of pamphlets in Steele's favour the principal were, *The Case of Richard Steele, Esq.; being an Impartial Account of the Pro-*

¹ "Just published," &c. (*Post-Boy*, April 24-27, 1714).

² On Sunday, as Swift remarks, the debtor could "take a loose, and venture to be seen." So Pope complained:

"No place is sacred, not the church is free,
E'en Sunday shines no sabbath day to me:
Then from the Mint walks forth the man of rhyme,
Happy to catch me just at dinner time."

ceedings against Him. In a *Letter to a Friend*,¹ already mentioned, which is dated March 20, 17¹³/₁₄, and was published on the 24th; and *A Defence of Mr. Steele, in a Letter to a Friend in the Country*, dated March 25, 1714, and signed "Thomas Staines." On the other side was *A Letter to Richard Steele, Esq.*, "Printed in the year 1715," but dated April 17, 1714, and signed "Philo Basileus."²

On the 25th February, Steele had issued the first number of a new periodical after the style of the *Spectator*. It was called *The Lover*, "written in imitation of the Tatler, By Marmaduke Myrtle, Gent.," and it extended to forty numbers, of which the last appeared on the 27th May. These papers, when republished in collected form, were dedicated to Sir Samuel Garth, "the best natured man," an epithet which Pope afterwards applied to Garth more than once. Upon a just representation and history of love, said Steele, could be built "all the sentiments and resolutions which incline and qualify us for everything that is truly excellent, great and noble." In the first number sketches are given of Mr. Severn, the Lover, and other members of the club to which he belonged. Steele would be a knight-errant with the pen; "my business is to kill monsters, and to relieve virgins."³ He was a friend to honourable love, but constantly discountenanced all vicious passions.⁴ Addison wrote one paper in the *Lover*, No. 10, satirising the mania for old china. In No. 11, published on the 20th March, and in No. 14, Steele gave a humorous account of his treatment in the House of Commons, and ridiculed Oxford and Mr. Auditor Foley under the names of Sir Anthony Crabtree and Mr. Peter Brickdust. These papers, however, were hardly in harmony with the general plan of the *Lover*, and Steele started a new periodical on the 22nd April, *The Reader*, which was directly opposed to the *Examiner*. The *Reader* only extended to nine numbers, and

¹ This tract is the same, except as regards the opening paragraph, as one called *A Full Account of the Proceedings in the Last Session of Parliament against Richard Steele, Esq.; with a Defence of his Writings. In a Letter to His Excellency the Earl of N—t—m.* 1714.

² There is a curious advertisement about this tract in the *Examiner* for May 14-17, 1714, vol. v. No. 49.

³ *Lover*, No. 2.

⁴ Nos. 36, 37.

of these Addison contributed two. The design of the new paper was "chiefly to disabuse those readers who are imposed upon by the licentious writers of this degenerate age."¹ Steele was referring to his own experiences when in the second number he described the husbandman who lived near a certain bridge, and who, when one night he saw approaching a party of soldiers belonging to a hostile prince, drew up the drawbridge, and, by defending it with his goods, held the position until daylight. Many lords and gentlemen then appeared to oppose the foe, but in their hurry they threw the husbandman over the bridge, with his goods. This accident was the safety of the kingdom, but nobody ought to be discouraged from public service by what happened to the rustic, for though every one said he was an honest fellow, and that he was no one's enemy but his own in exposing his all, and though nobody said he was every one's friend but his own, yet he had ever after the sole liberty, for himself and family, of begging on that bridge in all times following. In No. 6 it was announced that Steele was preparing a history of the war in Flanders, commencing from the date of the Duke of Marlborough's commissions of Captain General and plenipotentiary, and ending with the expiration of those commissions. The work was to be in folio, and was to be based upon the most authentic materials. Steele, however, never carried out his purpose, and the papers were afterwards handed to Glover, and then to Mallet; but it was reserved to Coxe to execute the work. After the Duke's death it was "industriously reported" that his Grace had left the history of his life and actions in his own handwriting, and that the manuscript had been put into Steele's hands in order that it might be published "with all suitable decorations."²

On the 21st May, Steele wrote twice to his wife,—“5th door, Bloomsbury Square”: “I think things will go pretty well.” “Pray pardon impatiencies, which have their foundation in care and solicitude for you, and vexation that I have not been so just as to prefer my family to all the world.” We shall see that in

¹ *Reader*, No. 2.

² *Mist's Weekly Journal*, July 14, 1722. Dr. Johnson adds that Steele in some of his exigencies put the papers in pawn.

order to make things "go pretty well" Steele borrowed £230 on the 20th and £273 on the 26th of this month, or over £500 in the week. On the 25th May¹ he published a book called *The Romish Ecclesiastical History of Late Years*, the object of which was "to expose the profanation of true religion by the artifices of the Church of Rome." It consists chiefly of extracts from a book describing the canonisation of Pius V. and others in 1712, and probably Steele wrote only the Dedication to Lord Finch. "Any power," said Steele, "affected by clergymen above what the laws of our country allow them, or independent of the sovereignty of it, is to me Popery." It was to Lord Nottingham's zeal, he added, more than to that of any other man, that the Church of England owed the inhibition, that any who dissented from her should bear office in these realms. At the close, Steele did not forget to thank Lord Finch publicly for the aid he had rendered him in Parliament: "The noble motive which first produced your natural eloquence was what should be the great purpose of that charming force in all who are blessed with it, the protection of the oppressed. . . . This address is made to you in acknowledgment of late favours to me, and to desire the continuance of your good opinion and friendship."

On the 12th May leave was given to bring in a Bill "to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the further security of the Church of England, as by law established," and on the 21st it was ordered to be read for the second time. On the 26th the Bill was examined in committee, and next day the amendments were reported and agreed to. On the 1st June the Bill was read a third time, but there was a warm debate, in the course of which Walpole, Stanhope, and others opposed the reactionary legislation. Protests were useless, however, in face of the large Tory majority, and the Bill was duly sent up to the House of Lords. It was at this juncture, on the 3rd June, that Steele published *A Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Bill for Preventing the Growth of Schism*.² The letter, probably addressed to Lord

¹ *Daily Courant*, May 21 and 26, 1714.

² There was a second edition on the 5th June. On the 2nd Steele wrote to his wife from Tonson's, that he must stay there, or the pamphlet would not

Finch, is dated May 28, 1714. The Bill was intended to bring things back to the condition they were in under the Act of Uniformity of Charles II., in defiance of the Act passed in the first year of William and Mary, exempting from certain laws Protestant subjects who were dissenters. The new Bill rendered all teachers or tutors, public or private, liable to three months' imprisonment if they taught in England or Wales before having subscribed to a declaration of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England. Teachers were also liable to penalties if they taught any other catechism than that of the Church of England; or if they went to a dissenting conventicle after subscribing to the declaration. This Bill, Steele wrote, would deprive dissenters of all rights, both natural, religious, and civil. "It is inconsistent with the natural and original right of mankind; for it is an undoubted truth, that men have as much right to the means of knowledge as to the means of life. . . . You may, with equal justice, take away the lives of the dissenters as punish the dissenters in their liberty or their estates for instructing children their own way." The proposal was against the real interests of the Church of England, and it would lead to public distraction and scandal, and to disaffection to the House of Hanover. "Your senators may do what you please to one another, may do what you please with the persons of your own members; we without doors know you to be only our attorney, and that you are not sent thither to oppose your angers, passions, or prejudices upon particular persons or parties, but to propose, calmly and impartially, according to the rules of natural and civil right, matters which may be for the benefit of the whole kingdom." Several dissenting bodies having sent in protests, the Bill was read for the first time in the House of Lords on the 4th June, when there was a long debate; and after

be ready; "for I am forced to make alterations according to new intelligence about the Bill." Another pamphlet on the same side was "A Letter from a Layman . . . to the Right Rev^d the Lord Bishop of —, 1714." On the other side were Sewell's "Schism Destructive of the Government, both in Church and State" (*Post-Boy*, June 10-12), and "A Letter to Mr. Steele, Occasioned by his Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Bill for Preventing the Growth of Schism. By a Member of the Church of England" (*Daily Courant*, June 21). This last tract Mr. Crossley attributed to Defoe.

several sittings, it passed on the 15th, but only by 77 votes against 72. The Commons accepted the Lords' amendments, and the 1st August was fixed upon as the date upon which the Act was to come into operation; but on that very day the Queen died, and the Act remained a dead letter till it was repealed some years afterwards.

The collected edition of the *Englishman* was published on the 5th June,¹ with a dedication to General Stanhope, who had been Commander-in-Chief in Spain. Steele did not forget to express his gratitude for the support Stanhope had given him in Parliament. In June, too, appeared a pamphlet called *A Town Eclogue: Or, a Poetical Contest between Toby and a Minor-Poet of B—tt—n's Coffee-House*, in which Toby stands for Swift, who is rebuked for the ribaldry he uttered against Steele; "once you called friends." But, says Toby,

"I boast my Art's success; whate'er he writ
Is nonsense now, if his; and mine if wit."

There was also *An Hue and Cry after Dr. S—t; Occasioned by a True and Exact Copy of Part of his Own Diary*, containing passages like the following:—"Think often of St—le and T. W—n. . . . Give a farthing to a poor man. . . . Resolved to write to D. S—le. . . . Received a letter from Lewis the bookseller in Covent Garden of great importance. By G—d, Steele has got the better of me."² On the 18th June, Addison began a fresh issue of the *Spectator*,³ which afterwards formed an eighth volume in the collected edition, but in this undertaking Steele had no hand. In his first paper—No. 556—

¹ Letter . . . concerning the Bill for Preventing the Growth of Schism, second edition, advertisement.

² The author of *The Hudibrastic Brewer*, published in October (*Daily Courant*, October 5, 1714), sneered at Steele's Hibernian modesty, as shown by his conduct in and out of the House. Dick scribbled to his ruin. "His cassock friend had wit to play His cards a much securer way," and got "a good fat Irish Deanery." So party-wits rise and fall:

"So St—l, when Whigs shall re-obtain
The rule, shall be a wit again,
And Sw—t a dunce; but not till then."

³ "This day is published, A Letter from Will. Honeycomb to the Examiner, occasioned by the revival of the 'Spectator'" (*Post-Boy*, June 29 to July 1).

Addison said that the chief aim would be to allay the unnatural ferment into which the nation had been worked by politicians of both sides, and to inculcate good-will and benevolence. Reproaches would not cure faults; and any one who acted up to the principles of truth and honour, religion and virtue, could not fail to be a good Englishman, and a lover of his country. Steele, however, could not yet see his way to abstain from active interference in politics. He was engaged with Lord Wharton at the Kit-Cat Club on the 24th June, and on the 2nd July¹ he published another pamphlet on Dunkirk, *The French Faith Represented in the Present State of Dunkirk. A Letter to the Examiner, in Defence of Mr. S—le*; with a map showing the proposed new port at Mardyke. The seeming demolition, he said, would in reality be an improvement of the harbour; the action taken by the French amounted simply to a fraud. They had cut through the Downs between Mardyke and Dunkirk, and kept the identical haven which it had been stipulated should be destroyed.² Steele's pamphlet was in the form of a letter to the Examiner, signed "C. P." In the *Examiner* for May 24 there had been a mock "humble Address" presented to Steele by the Sieur Tugghe, Deputy, to the effect that Dunkirk was now entirely demolished, and that there was no possible danger in the works at Mardyke. "We now lay ourselves at Your Mightiness's feet, intreating you to satisfy your justice with our present misery." On the 18th June the *Examiner* was filled with a criticism of the *Romish Ecclesiastical History* published under Steele's name; and on the 28th the Schism Bill and Steele's pamphlet on that subject were discussed. Shortly afterwards a very slanderous pamphlet of ninety-six pages was issued, *The Ecclesiastical and Political History of Whig-Land, of Late Years*; with "the characters of a late Ecclesiastical Historian, and of the Author of this History." This production, which is dated July 5, is said to be

¹ *Daily Courant*, July 2, 1714.

² The Duchess of Marlborough, writing on the 6th June (N. S.), said that the operations at Dunkirk were like "shutting up one Door and opening another in the same Place. . . . What they are doing will be a much better Harbour than before to all intents and purposes" (*Letters of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 102-6).

“by John Lacy, Esq.,”¹ a name which also appears on the title-page of a poem called *The Steeleids*,² published on the 3rd August. Some of the scandalous statements in the prose *History of Whig-Land* have been already alluded to, and others will not bear quoting. The poem contains nothing of interest.

Steele was far from being free from money difficulties at this period, for in Trinity term there were three actions against him for debt.³ In the first case, John Wranghan stated that on the 26th May, 1714, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Steele had signed a bond acknowledging himself bound to Wranghan in the sum of £273. 6s., to be paid when requested. But the money had not been paid, and the complainant claimed £20 damages. Steele, by his attorney, Joseph Sherwood, said he could not gainsay the action, or that he owed the money, and judgment was therefore given against him, with 66s. 8d. for Wranghan’s damages. The second action was brought by Robert Fydell, who stated that on the 1st February 1713, in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Bow, in the Ward of Cheap, he sold and delivered to Steele at his special request divers goods, for which Steele promised to pay the full value—£30; but he had not and would not pay, to Fydell’s damage of £40. The case came on for hearing on Friday next after the morrow of Holy Trinity, but Steele did not put in an appearance, and although the record is defective, we may assume that he lost the day. The third action was brought by Charles Fairchild, Esq., who said that Steele had, on the 20th May last, given him a bond for £230. Steele was represented by Adam Felton, but did not urge anything in bar of judgment, which was accordingly given against him on the 31st May, with 50s. damages.

The two following notes allude to business with Walpole, and in the first of them Tryon, the Barbados agent, again appears :—

¹ This was the name of a French pseudo-prophet, who was a well-known character in 1707.

² “The Steeleids, or the trial of Wit. A poem, in three cantos” (*Post-Boy*, July 31 to August 3).

³ Queen’s Bench Judgment Roll, 13 Anne, Trinity, 96, 282; Common Pleas Judgment Roll, 13 Anne, Trinity, 1115.

July 8th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

After having settled with Tryon to pay Tishmaker I am attending other businesse, and wait Mr. Walpole's motions. I will be at home at seven of Clock.

Y^{rs}

RICHARD STEELE.

July 15th 1714,
CHARING-CROSSE.

DEAR PRUE

Mr. Walpole going out of town to-morrow I am obliged to dine where He does to get an Opportunity of speaking to Him.

I am, Dear Prue,

Y^r Most Affectionate Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

In the *Daily Courant* for July 20 there was an advertisement that "Mr. Steele's House on the East Side of Bloomsbury Square, in very good repair, is to be Let. Enquire at the House." But an event was soon to happen which led to a great change in Steele's fortunes. The breach between Oxford and Bolingbroke grew wider as it became more and more clear that Bolingbroke was scheming for a return of the Pretender. The High Church Schism Act hastened the crisis, and at length, after a quarrel in the Council between the statesmen, the Queen dismissed Oxford. Bolingbroke was congratulating himself that he had secured success, when the Queen was suddenly taken ill. Prompt steps were at once taken by the Whigs, and the Queen was persuaded to give the White Staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The Elector was sent for, and when Anne died on the morning of the 1st August,¹ everything was in readiness for peacefully carrying out the Act of Settlement. "The Earl of Oxford," Bolingbroke wrote to Swift, "was removed on Tuesday. The Queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!"

Steele was "assured of something immediately," and he

¹ On August 19 a poem was published entitled "A Letter from Mr. Jacob Bickerstaff, Nephew to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., occasioned by the Death of Queen Anne. To a Gentleman in Holland" (*Post-Boy*, August 19, 1714). It contains nothing of interest.

alludes to hopes of a patent for farthings, but of this we hear no more. Addison was appointed secretary to the Lords Justices.

THATCHED-HOUSE, S^NT JAMES'S STREET,
Augst 4th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I have been loaded with Compliments from the Regents and assured of something immediately, but have not heard w^t answer Philips brings from Scott. I desire you to send me a Guinea. I shall have cash in the morning. I wait Here to Speake with Cadogan,¹ with whome I would explain the posture of my affairs more earnestly.

Faithfully Y^{rs}

RICHARD STEELE.

Augst 6th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I was obliged to Borrow of Mr. Minshull² money to pay Scott 50^l.

He obliged Me to dine with Him, after which I must go to Mr. Moor,³ and after that to Mr. Ashurst, and after that to the delight of my Eyes y^r dear self.

RICHARD STEELE.

Augst 8th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I send Wilmot but stay at Sⁿt James's because they talk of Great news, which I will bring you and am

Y^r Most Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

ST. JAMES'S, Augst 15th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I have been with Cadogan who gives me great hopes of suc-
cesse in the Patent for Farthings; Baron Bothmar dines with Him
and he will have me be there.

If I do not deserve Good fortune, I hope being joined to you and
yours will be, in the sight of Heaven a motive for blessing Me, who,
with God's Grace, shall grow better.

Y^r Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

¹ The General, afterwards Earl Cadogan, to whom the first volume of the *Guardian* was dedicated.

² See vol. i. page 392; vol. ii. page 5.

³ See p. 4.

Aug^t 23^d 1714, S^T JAMES'S.

DEAR PRUE

I have ordered Willmot to Carry home the things you speak of in Covent Garden. I shall be with the Brodricks¹ and others till after eleven of Clock this night, for which I hope you will pardon Me, but I will not drink.

Y^r Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

Willmot will tell you about the House in this Street.

Sep^{br} 8th 1714.

DEAR PRUE

I shall dine at Cleland's² in order to see Lady Marleborough³ as soon as she is at Leisure after dinner. I have spoken to two or Three of the Justices and I think all will do Well.

Y^r Most Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

Bothmar, writing to Hanover on the 5th August, mentioned the services which Steele had rendered to the House of Hanover, with a view of securing for him some post in the government. The King landed at Greenwich on the 18th September, and in the course of a few weeks Steele was made Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Middlesex, Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court, a Justice of the Peace, and Supervisor of the Theatre, which last, at any rate, was a post of substantial money value. Addison was made Chief Secretary to Lord Sunderland, the newly appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.⁴ On the 22nd

¹ Thomas Broderick was M.P. for Stockbridge.

² The friend and correspondent of Pope; said to be the Will Honeycomb of the *Spectator*.

³ On the subject, possibly, of the History of the Duke of Marlborough.

⁴ In his "Memorial to the King," Addison expressed his disappointment at the smallness of the profits he derived from this post, and in October 1714 he wrote several letters to Lord Halifax (Add. MSS. 7121) urging his claims to some mark of His Majesty's favour. "I protest to your Lordship I never gained to the value of five thousand pound by all the businesse I have yet been in, and of that very near a fourth part has been laid out in my Elections." He did not get the post he wanted on the Board of Trade, and felt resentment against "some of our new great men." He never accepted perquisites, and he had refused a present from the South Sea Company. He could not accept less than £1000, because it would look more like a clerk's wages than a mark of royal favour. He did not omit to intercede for friends, —Philips; Mr. Hungerford; Edward Rich, who would be Earl of Warwick if

October¹ Steele published an important pamphlet, entitled *Mr. Steele's Apology for Himself and his Writings; Occasioned by his Expulsion from the House of Commons*. The Dedication is full of expressions of gratitude for the aid and countenance Walpole had given to the writer in his time of trial. The pamphlet had been printed before the Queen's death, but upon that accident its publication was deferred. It contains an account of Steele's share in the politics of the time, and of the tendency of his life's work. Many passages from this defence have been already quoted; one more may be given here. "Taking the words of the resolution as they lie: It would be a contradiction to all Mr. Steele's past writings, to speak to the disadvantage of the nobility and gentry. The war that the Tatler brought upon himself for stigmatizing and expelling sharpers out of their company is a merit towards them that will outweigh this allegation, though it comes whence it does. That gamesters, knaves and pickpockets are no longer the men of fashion, or mingled with so good an air among people of quality as formerly, is much owing to Mr. Steele; that a licentious treatment of a clergyman, as a clergyman, is less practised, either on the stage or in common conversation, is much owing to the contempt and ridicule on all such false and scandalous pretensions to wit, in the writings which the public has had from Mr. Steele: That an University education is reckoned a necessary qualification to an English gentleman, and the less accomplishments without those arts appear frivolous, though of great use with them, is more owing to Mr. Steele than to any

the young Lord had no heir, but who was in great want, and would be glad to be a King's Tide-Waiter; Captain Addison, for whom Addison hoped to provide in Ireland; and another namesake, who would like a stamper's place, vacant by the death of a late servant of Addison's. Budgell, Addison's kinsman, went over to Ireland with him, and there is a letter among the Blenheim MSS. from Budgell to Steele, dated Dublin Castle, May 27, 1715, beginning: "Your last letter shows such an excess of goodness, that I can assure you, that, and the occasion of it brought tears into my eyes." Steele appears to have interested himself in Budgell's brother, who was at Oxford, and who was in debt, though Budgell had sent him £80 in the last half-year. In a postscript Budgell says: "I got Mr. Leake to be made y^e Surveyor of Clonmell (y^e place his relations live at) last Saturday. If I may believe him he is at present the most happy man in y^e world, and has the most grateful sense of y^r kindness."

¹ *Daily Courant*.



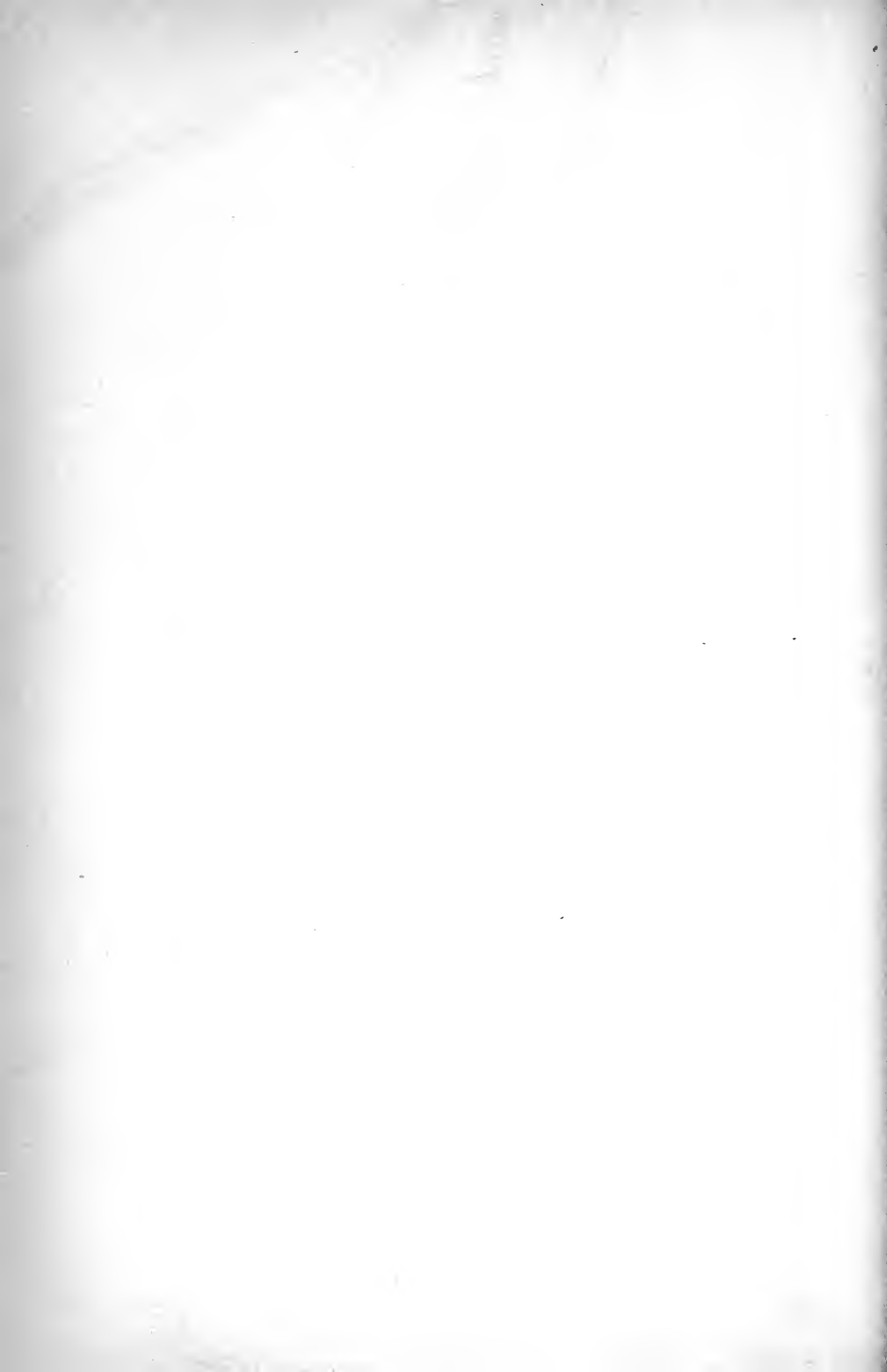
W. Steele

J. Simon fecit

Sold by J. Taylor to the Strand

1712-3. ÆTAT. 40.

From Simon's Mezzotint of the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.



other author, transcriber, or publisher (or under whatever class you rank him) that ever made use of pen and ink." And, again: "The wit, the eloquence, the learning in his writings, the Town may as it pleases give to others, but the application of them all must be ascribed to this publisher."

A few days before the appearance of this, the best of Steele's political writings, a curious work called *The Ladies Library*, "Written by a Lady, Published by Mr. Steele," was issued by Tonson. This book, "formerly so often mentioned in the *Spectator*," was advertised as "consisting of general rules for conduct in all the circumstances of the Life of Women."¹ In the Preface, dated July 21, 1714, Steele says that "the papers which compose the following volumes came into my hands upon frequent mention in the *Spectator* of a Lady's Library. They are supposed to be collected out of the several writings of our greatest divines. . . . They were referred to me as what were at first intended by the compiler for a guide to her own conduct. . . . As to the work itself, I find it will not be possible to arraign any sentiments in it, without falling upon some eminent divine from whom this lady has borrowed her thoughts. . . . I am only her gentleman usher." Then follows an introduction dealing with the charges made against women in poems and plays, which was perhaps written by Steele himself. The book had a large sale,² but it called forth a protest from a Royston Meredith (probably a descendant of Royston, the publisher of Jeremy Taylor's books), who published, on the 11th November,³ a pamphlet, *Mr. Steele Detected: Or, the Poor and Oppressed Orphan's Letters to the Great and Arbitrary Mr. Steele*; the object of which was "to prove the great imposition put on the public in general, and the notorious injustice done to a poor orphan in particular," by the *Ladies Library*. There are two letters from Meredith to Steele, with the answers. In the first letter, dated October 21, Meredith angrily accused Steele of unjustly printing what was the pro-

¹ *Daily Courant*, October 6, 1714. The book was published on the 9th October (*Post-Boy*, October 9). In the *Tatler*, No. 248, there had also been a suggestion of a Female Library.

² It was advertised as "very proper for a New Year's Gift for the Ladies" in the *Daily Courant* for December 31, 1714.

³ *Post-Boy*, November 9-11, 1714.

perty of others,—“two poor orphans who have very little else to subsist on.” Steele answered, on the same day, that he would inquire into the matter. But on the 25th Meredith wrote again; he had applied to Tonson, who referred him to the author for redress, and he now threatened to go to law respecting the infringement of his rights in Jeremy Taylor’s works. Steele was now able to reply, as he did next day: “You mentioned also an orphan, which word was a defence against any warm reply; but since you are pleased to go on in an intemperate way of talk, I shall give myself no more trouble to enquire about what you complain, but rest satisfied in doing all the good offices I can to the reverend author’s grandchild, now in town. . . . I beg you will give me no more ill language.” Meredith then complained that it was very arbitrary “to do an injury to one person, and make the restitution to another;” and added, “I conceive the lady mentioned in the title-page, and the clergyman in the preface, to be nothing more than a blind excuse for his notorious plagiarism.” He then pointed out some passages in the “Holy Living” which appear in the *Ladies Library*, and said that Steele was also indebted to Fleetwood, Locke, and Halifax. An examination of the religious writings of the latter part of the seventeenth century bears out the statement that the *Ladies Library* is little else but a compilation;¹

¹ The only passage of any length the authorship of which I have not traced is vol. iii. 413-503 (“Scruples”). It may be convenient to here reprint from an article by the present writer in the *Athenæum* for July 5, 1884, a list of the sources of the several parts of the *Ladies Library*. The references are to the first edition:—

Taylor’s “Holy Living,” i. 32-48, 156-77, 212-15, 232-9, 258-67, 314-25; iii. 53-113, 271-91, 307-11, 313-30.

Fleetwood’s “Relative Duties of Parents and Children,” &c. (see *Spectator*, No. 384), i. 81-145; ii. 9-38, 58-85, 134-155, 394-411.

“The Whole Duty of Man,” i. 63-6, 67-70, 268-314, 525-34; ii. 1-9, 85-7; iii. 291-2.

“The Government of the Tongue,” i. 358-405, 415-20.

“The Ladies’ Calling” (see *Spectator*, No. 37), i. 179-212, 240-58; ii. 38-57, 87-106, 184-205, 347-75, 377-85; iii. 22-53, 292-303, 332-42.

Locke’s “Treatise on Education,” ii. 270-346.

Lucas’s “Practical Christianity” (see *Guardian*, No. 63), iii. 305-6, 311-12, 350-3.

Lucas’s “Enquiry after Happiness,” i. 7-16; iii. 12-22, 371-412.

Scott’s “Christian Life” (see *Spectator*, No. 447), i. 326-50; iii. 129-38.

but this is exactly what Steele himself says; though who the lady compiler was does not appear. It has been suggested that Steele's letter amounts to a declaration that the work was compiled by Taylor's granddaughter, *i.e.*, probably, Mary, who married as her second husband Sir Cecil Wray, a zealous Whig;¹ but the letter seems really to imply only that Steele knew her.

In any case, Steele added various touches throughout the work, by way both of additions and modifications. Take, for example, vol. i. 213, where Taylor says, "Raise not thy mind to enquire into mysteries of state;" or i. 265, where Steele adds the "china-ware, parrots, canary-birds, lap-dogs;" or i. 323, where Steele speaks of over-righteous strains of charity and Popish superstition, while Taylor praises St. Martin, St. Paulinus, St. Katherine, and, above all, Christ; or iii. 319-20, where Steele qualifies Taylor's words as to the use of confession. Of passages in which we seem to see Steele's hand, I will only refer to those on strange notions of honour (i. 15), idleness of ladies (i. 16), study of English (i. 24-5), mirth due to the fumes of wine (i. 36), education of children (i. 40), the daily round of a trifler (i. 41-2), slander (i. 421), contempt of religion and all restraints (iii. 49-50), and fashionable fasting (iii. 310-11).² The most interesting thing about these volumes is, however, the batch of Dedications which Steele supplied. The first volume was inscribed to the Countess of Burlington, the widowed mother of

Tillotson's "Sermons" (No. 42, 50-2), i. 426-37; ii. 219-69, 421-35.

M. Astell's "Serious Proposal to the Ladies" (2 Parts), i. 438-524.

Halifax's (George Savile) "Advice to a Daughter" (see *Spectator*, No. 170), i. 59-63, 421-5, 534-46; ii. 111-33, 256-61.

Fénélon's "Education of a Daughter" (Hickes's translation, 3rd edition, 1713), i. 16-31, 55-8; ii. 106-10, 177-84, 385-93.

¹ I have a copy of the first edition of the *Ladies Library*, bearing the autograph inscription, "Mary Lady Wray 1749" (see *Notes and Queries*, S. I., xii. 12).

² For other passages see the *Athenæum* for July 5, 1884. In the same periodical for February 14, 1885, particulars are given of an imitation of the *Ladies Library*, first published in 1715;—*The Gentleman's Library*, "containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life. Written by a Gentleman." In the Preface we are told of the great popularity of the *Ladies Library*, though it was swelled out into three volumes, and sold at a pretty handsome price. The plan of Steele's work is followed generally in the *Gentleman's Library*, and the *Talpers* and *Spectators* are used, as well as other books, to heighten the entertainment. This *Library* passed through five editions by 1760.

the third and last Earl; the second volume to Mrs. Catherine Bovey, whose virtues are set forth at length on her monument in Westminster Abbey, and who has been, as we have seen, supposed to be the original of the "perverse widow" of the *Spectator*; and the third to Steele's own wife, represented, it may be, with her children in the engraving by Du Guernier prefixed to the book. The perfect candour and honesty in this address from a loving husband, written seven years after marriage, gives to it a unique position among the Dedications of the time.¹

July 21, 1714.

MADAM,

If great obligations received are just motives for addresses of this kind, you have an unquestionable pretension to my acknowledgments, who have condescended to give me your very self. I can make no return for so inestimable a favour, but in acknowledging the generosity of the giver. To have either wealth, wit, or beauty, is generally a temptation to a woman to put an unreasonable value upon herself; but with all these, in a degree which drew upon you the addresses of men of the amplest fortunes, you bestowed your person where you could have no expectations but from the gratitude of the receiver, though you knew he could exert that gratitude in no other returns but esteem and love. For which must I first thank you? for what you have denied yourself, or for what you have bestowed on me?

I owe to you, that for my sake you have overlooked the prospect of living in pomp and plenty, and I have not been circumspect enough to preserve you from care and sorrow. I will not dwell upon this particular; you are so good a wife, that I know you think I rob you of more than I can give, when I say anything in your favour to my own disadvantage.

Whoever should see or hear you, would think it were worth leaving all the world for you; while I, habitually possessed of that happiness, have been throwing away impotent endeavours for the rest of mankind, to the neglect of her for whom any other man, in his senses, would be apt to sacrifice everything else. ..

I know not by what unreasonable prepossession it is, but methinks

¹ In 1730 Theophilus Cibber dedicated his comedy, *The Lover*, to Mrs. Jane Cibber, his first wife, who acted with him in the play, and he commenced with an allusion to Steele—"Madam, One of the pleasantest wits that has entertained this age, dedicated a valuable part of his Works to his wife: it is not therefore without precedent, that I offer this play to you."

there must be something austere to give authority to wisdom ; and I cannot account for having only rallied many seasonable sentiments of yours, but that you are too beautiful to appear judicious.

One may grow fond, but not wise, from what is said by so lovely a counsellor. Hard fate, that you have been lessened by your perfections, and lost power by your charms !

That ingenuous spirit in all your behaviour, that familiar grace in your words and actions, has for this seven years only inspired admiration and love ; but experience has taught me, the best counsel I ever have received has been pronounced by the fairest and softest lips ; and convinced me that I am in you blest with a wise friend, as well as a charming mistress.

Your mind shall no longer suffer by your person ; nor shall your eyes, for the future, dazzle me into a blindness towards your understanding. I rejoice in this public occasion to shew my esteem for you ; and must do you the justice to say, that there can be no virtue represented in all this Collection for the female world, which I have not known you exert, as far as the opportunities of your fortune have given you leave. Forgive me, that my heart overflows with love and gratitude for daily instances of your prudent œconomy, the just disposition you make of your little affairs, your cheerfulness in dispatch of them, your prudent forbearance of any reflections that they might have needed less vigilance had you disposed of your fortune suitably ; in short, for all the arguments you every day give me of a generous and sincere affection.

It is impossible for me to look back on many evils and pains which I have suffered since we came together, without a pleasure which is not to be expressed, from the proofs I have had, in those circumstances, of your unwearied goodness. How often has your tenderness removed pain from my sick head ! How often anguish from my afflicted heart ! With how skilful patience have I known you comply with the vain projects which pain has suggested, to have an aching limb removed by journeying from one side of a room to another ! How often, the next instant, travelled the same ground again, without telling your patient it was to no purpose to change his situation ? If there are such beings as Guardian Angels, thus are they employed. I will no more believe one of them more good in its inclinations, than I can conceive it more charming in its form, than my Wife.

But I offend ; and forget that what I say to you is to appear in public. You are so great a lover of home, that I know it will be irksome to you to go into the world even in an applause. I will end this without so much as mentioning your little flock, or your own

amiable figure at the head of it. That I think them preferable to all other children, I know, is the effect of passion and instinct. That I believe you the best of Wives, I know proceeds from experience and reason.

I am, Madam,
Your most obliged husband
and most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

The following letter was probably written about this time, because it is addressed to "Richard Steele, Esqr.," and by April 1715 Steele was knighted. It was from Jonathan Scurlock, cousin to Mrs. Steele, a young man of about twenty-one, in 1714.¹ He died in 1722.

S^r

The great distress that I am at preasant in occasions my troubling you with these lines, which I hope youll assist me in my extremity, being at preasant destitute of money doe beg y^e favour that you would supply me with some small summ which favour if you please to perform will add mightily to those obligations y^t I already lye under, and be a mighty satisfaction to

Worthy S^r

Youre eaver acknowledged
humble Servent

JON^A: SCURLOCK.

Another letter among the Blenheim MSS., from Sir John Fortescue Aland, asking Steele's interest on behalf of a Mr. Daniel Bolton, who was desirous of being one of the Commissioners for settling the people of the Island of St. Christopher, taken from the French, or Surveyor of the South Part of America, is chiefly interesting because it is addressed to "Cap^{tn} Richard Steele." It is dated "Inn^r temple, 9^{ber} y^e 8th 1714." Sir John Fortescue Aland was made a baron of the Exchequer in 1717, and sat as a judge in the Superior Courts for thirty years. Upon his retirement he was created Baron Fortescue, of Credan, County Waterford, August 1746, but he died in the December following. Upon his son's death, in 1781, the title became extinct.

¹ Blenheim MSS. See pedigree, vol. i. page 172.

BOOK SEVENTH.

MANAGER OF THE THEATRE.

1714-1723. ÆT. 42-51.

- I.—HONOURS AND REWARDS.
- II.—“THE ENGLISHMAN,” VOL. II. THE MASTERSHIP OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.
- III.—THE REBELLION OF 1715, AND THE FORFEITED ESTATES.
- IV.—INTEREST IN THE THEATRE MORTGAGED.
- V.—LADY STEELE IN WALES.
- VI.—IN SCOTLAND.
- VII.—THE FISH POOL.
- VIII.—IN SCOTLAND AGAIN. DEATH OF LADY STEELE.
- IX.—DR. WOODWARD, SAVAGE, AND OTHERS. “THE SPINSTER.”
- X.—THE PEERAGE BILL. DEATH OF ADDISON.
- XI.—“THE THEATRE.”
- XII.—THE SOUTH SEA SCHEME.
- XIII.—THE SCOTCH COMMISSION AND THE THEATRE.
- XIV.—“THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS.”



I.

HONOURS AND REWARDS.

1714-15. *ÆT.* 42-3.

A LICENCE to act during pleasure was granted in November 1713 to Collier, a Tory M.P. and lawyer, and the actors Wilks, Cibber, Doggett, and Booth; but Collier's only connection with the Theatre was, that the four actors had to pay him a pension of £700 a year. This, however, came to an end upon the death of the Queen, when a new licence had to be obtained, and it was then that Steele had the good fortune to be invited to take a share in the management. Colley Cibber has told the story admirably.¹ As the pension must still be paid to somebody, the managers "imagined the merit of a Whig might now have as good a chance of getting into it, as that of a Tory had for being continued in it: Having no obligations, therefore, to Collier, who had made the last penny of them, they applied themselves" to Steele, who had many pretensions to favour at Court. "We knew, too, the obligations the stage had to his writings; there being scarce a comedian of merit, in our whole company, whom his *Tatlers* had not made better by his public recommendation of them. And many days had our House been particularly filled by the influence and credit of his pen. . . . We therefore begged him to use his interest for the renewal of our licence, and that he would do us the honour of getting our names to stand with his, in the same Commission. This, we told him, would put it still further into his power of supporting the stage in that reputation to which his *Lucubrations* had already so much contributed; and that therefore we thought no

¹ *Apology*, chap. xv.

man had better pretences to partake of its success." Steele was, of course, much pleased at the offer. "It surprised him into an acknowledgment, that people, who are shy of obligations, are cautious of confessing. His spirits took such a lively turn upon it, that had we been all his own sons, no unexpected act of filial duty could have more endeared us to him." No time was lost in applying for the new licence, which, upon the first mention of it, was obtained by Steele of the King, through the Duke of Marlborough, "the hero of his heart," who was now again Captain General. There is a memorandum of Steele's among the Blenheim MSS.: "Message from the King to know whether I was in earnest in desiring the Playhouse or that others thought of it for me—If I lik^d it I should have it as an earnest of His future favour." This was the licence.¹

GEORGE R.

Whereas Richard Steele Esq^r, M^r Robert Wilks, M^r Colley Cibber, M^r Thomas Doggett and M^r Barton Booth are Represented to Us by their long experience and other good Qualitys to be fitly Qualified to have the Care and Management of Our Company of Comedians under the direction of the Chamberlain of Our Household, for the time being, We therefore reposing Especial Trust and Confidence in the said Richard Steele, Robert Wilks, Colley Cibber, Thomas Doggett and Barton Booth, do hereby give and grant unto them full Power Licence and Authority to form constitute and Establish for Us a Company of Comedians, with full and free Licence, to Act and Represent in any Convenient Place during Our Pleasure and no longer, and in such manner as any three or more of them shall think proper, all Comedys, Tragedies, and all other Theatricall performances (Musical Entertainments only excepted) Subject to such Rules and Orders for their good Government therein, as they shall receive from time to time from the Chamberlain of Our Household: And We do hereby further Revoke and make Void all former Licences and Powers Granted to any Person for that purpose. Given at Our Court at S^t James's this Eighteenth day of Oct^r 1714 in the first Year of Our Reign.

By his Majesty's Command

SHREWSBURY.

¹ Lord Chamberlain's Papers (Record Office). Warrant Book 24, page 31.

There are certain Minutes of Accounts among the Blenheim MSS., dated 28th October, which refer to this time, and also a list apparently representing sums owing to various persons, with many of whose names we have already met. The total is made out to be £2798, but is in reality £3618.¹

MINUTES OF ACCOUNTS.

To M ^r Saunderson for Drawing the Comedian's case	1—10—06
To the Sollicitor Generall upon delivering Him the case of the comedians	} 2 : 03 : 00
To the Sollicitor for his opinions thereupon	
To the Sollicitor upon giving Him the Reference at M ^r Steele's Petition	2 : 03 : 00
To the Attorney on the same	3 : 04 : 06
To Sollicitor for signing the report	2 : 03 : 00

	¹ Ashurst	1100 : 00 : 00
Mr Tafnall	Moore	175 : 00 : 00
Ironmonger Lane ...	Humphrey	95 : 00 : 00
M ^r Chiver's Bill	Nash	15 : 00 : 00
Ashton	Kelson	250 : 00 : 00
	Dawson	500 : 00 : 00
	Brewer	30 : 00 : 00
	Philips	60 : 00 : 00
	Elderton	40 : 00 : 00
	Minchull	360 : 00 : 00
	Jane	15 : 00 : 00
Tyndall	Arne	60 : 00 : 00
	Wranghan	140 : 00 : 00
	Taylors	20 : 00 : 00
	Lepine	140 : 00 : 00
	Linnen	020 : 00 : 00
	Perriwig	020 : 00 : 00
	House	012 : 00 : 00
	M ^{rs} Clark	016 : 00 : 00
	M ^r Clark	350 : 00 : 00
		2598 : 00 : 00
	Tonson	200 : 00 : 00
		2798 : 00 : 00

[The Arne here mentioned may have been the Edward Arne, Upholder, who died in the Fleet Prison in 1725 through being confined in a cold stable. Huggins, the Warden, was tried for his murder in May 1729, but was acquitted.]

To the Attorney's clerk	1 : 01 : 06
To Servants at y ^e offices	1 : 10 : 00
For the Reference at Sec. office	2—02—06

M^r Tully¹—M^r Chantrell—M^r Jones.

Hoadley—Clarke.

Philips to be at y^e Aquat—(?) 28th Oct^{br} 1714.

Ch^r : Rich / since dead.

Judgment was given against Steele in two actions for debt in November.² In the first case, George White stated in his bill brought in in the preceding Trinity term, that on the 1st May 1714, in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Steele agreed by a promissory note, to pay him £33 on the 15th of the same month of May; but he had not paid, and White claimed £40 damages. When the case came on in Michaelmas term, Steele did not put in an appearance, and the sheriffs were instructed to enquire as to the damages and costs, and on the day appointed the sheriffs returned an Inquisition taken before them at the Court House, Westminster, on the 25th November, by which it was shown that White sustained damages of £33, and costs of 20s. It was therefore ordered that White should recover his damages, and also £8 for his costs, amounting in all to £42. In the second case the complainant was Nicholas Jonquell le Pine, or Lepine, a tailor, with whom we have met before.³ He stated that on the 8th November 1712, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, Steele gave him a bond for £266, to be repaid when required. But it had not been paid, to the damage of Lepine of £300. Steele appeared by his attorney, Adrian Moore, but made no defence, and it was therefore ordered that Lepine might recover his debt, and 53s. damages.

We can now return to the affairs of the theatre. Owing to the crowded state of the town, the early part of the season of 1714-15 was unusually good; but this prosperous state of things was checked by the renewal of the licence to the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was soon followed by the desertion in one day of seven or eight actors from Drury Lane.

¹ Steele's solicitor in 1712.

² Queen's Bench Judgment Roll, 1 Geo. I., Mich. 300, 317.

³ Queen's Bench Judgment Roll, 10 Anne, Easter 183.

There is a draft petition in French to the King, in Steele's writing, among the Blenheim MSS., pointing out that the managers of the new company had drawn away some of His Majesty's comedians, and that the remaining actors, not being restrained by any sort of government, had had the assurance to demand an increase of wages at the very moment when they were going to act, and that it had been necessary to grant their request in order to prevent their joining the new company. Steele therefore prayed that if there were to be two companies of comedians, the King would be pleased to forbid each of the actors or actresses of the said companies to pass from one to the other without an express permission from the Lord Chamberlain, until the necessary measures should have been taken for bringing the new company under his direction, and for establishing in both companies better order than there had hitherto been. Whether this petition, which is not alluded to by Cibber, was actually presented, we do not know; but, in any case, when the receipts of the theatre began to fall off, the managers pointed out to Steele that he stood in the same position as Collier, and that his pension of £700 was liable to the same conditions that Collier had received it upon, namely, that it was to be paid only so long as there was but one company allowed to act, and that if a second company were set up, the pension was to be changed from a fixed payment to an equal share of the profits. To this Steele at once agreed. "While we were offering to proceed," says Cibber, "Sir Richard stopped us short by assuring us, that as he came among us by our own invitation, he should always think himself obliged to come into any measures for our ease and service; that to be a burden to our industry would be more disagreeable to him than it could be to us, and as he had always taken a delight in his endeavours for our prosperity, he should be still ready, on our own terms, to continue them." Every one who knew Steele in his prosperity, Cibber remarks, "knew that this was his manner of dealing with his friends in business." Steele, however, told Cibber and the others that he was advised to get the licence during pleasure, which they held, enlarged into a more durable authority, and with this object he proposed that he should obtain a Patent for himself, for his life and three

years after, which he would then assign over to them. To this the managers were only too glad to agree, for, among other benefits, it would free them from too great a dependency upon the Lord Chamberlain, or the officers under him, who, not having "the hearts of noblemen," often showed the insolence of office to which narrow minds are liable. Steele accordingly applied for a Patent in the following terms:¹—

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,
The humble Petition of Richard Steele, Sheweth

That the use of the Theatre has for many years last past been much perverted to the great Scandal of Religion and Good Government.

That it will require much time to remedy so inveterate an evil, and will expose the Undertaker to much Envy and Opposition.

That an affair of this Nature cant be accomplished without a lasting Authority.

That your Majesty has given to your Pet^r in conjunction with others a Licence to form and establish a Company of Commedians for the Service of your Majesty^{tie}.

That your Pet^r did not desire this Favour in so ample a manner as your Majesty was graciously disposed to bestow it upon him, till he had taken a View of the State of the Theatre, under your Majesty^{ties} Licence, and after mature deliberation thereupon promised himself he should be able to act therein in some degree to your Majesty^{ties} Satisfaction.

That your Pet^r has observed great inconveniences to have arisen from a grant of this kind, to Men and their Heirs.

Your Pet^r therefore most humbly prays that your Majesty would graciously please to grant your Petitioner your Letters Patents for forming a company of Commedians for the Service of your Majesty during your Pet^r's natural Life and for three Years after his Death, &c.

On the 10th January this petition was referred by the King's command to the Attorney and Solicitor General; and as soon as it had been ascertained that Steele's partners in the existing licence consented to the alteration, the law officers recommended a compliance with the petition.² This was on the

¹ Home Office, Petitions (Public Record Office), vol. 49.

² Lord Chamberlain's Records · Old Theatrical Papers, No. 12.

12th January; on the 14th the King's warrant was issued to prepare a Bill for the letters patent accordingly; and on the 19th January the Patent passed the Great Seal, Lord Chancellor Cowper, in compliment to Steele, declining to receive any fee.

The Patent, after reference to the abuses consequent upon the ill-management of the theatre, and a declaration of the King's intention to promote religion and virtue and to encourage good literature, proceeded thus:¹ "We, having seriously resolved on the premises, and being well satisfied of the ability and good disposition of Our trusty and well-beloved Richard Steele, Esq., for the promoting these Our royal purposes, not only from his public services to religion and virtue, but his steady adherence to the interest of his country; know ye that We, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, and in consideration of the good and faithful services which the said Richard Steele hath done Us, and doth intend to do for the future, have given and granted" him, his executors, &c., for his natural life and three years after his decease, "full power and licence to gather together, form, entertain, govern, privilege, and keep a company of comedians for Our service," to act at Drury Lane or elsewhere in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof. "Which said company shall be Our servants, and styled the Royal Company of Comedians, and shall consist of such members as the said Richard Steele, his exors, etc., shall from time to time think meet." Such persons should act during Steele's pleasure peaceably and quietly, without interference, subject to certain regulations. And Steele should receive from those who resorted to the theatre such sums of money as either had accustomedly been given, or as he should think reasonable in regard to the great expenses of scenes, music and new decorations; and he should make such allowances out of the receipts to the actors and others engaged in the theatre as he should think fit. The company was to be under his sole authority, with power of ejection in case of mutiny or scandalous conduct. No representations were to be admitted on the stage which might bring reproach on the Christian religion or the Church of England,

¹ Lord Chamberlain's Records; Precedent Book, No. 2, fol. 280. The Patent is printed at length in *Town-Talk*, No. 6.

and nothing was to be acted derogatory to the royal authority or the preservation of order and good government, or which contained passages offensive to piety and good manners.¹

This Patent was not the only evidence of royal favour, for a week before, on the 12th January, as appears from the following document,² Steele received from the King a gift of £500.

RICHARD STEEL, ESQ^{RE}

Order is taken this xth day of Jan^{ry} 1714 By virtue of his Ma^{ty} Gen^{ll} Lres of Privy Seale bearing date the 29th Sept^r 1714 And in pursuance of a Warrant under his Ma^{ty} Royall Signe Manual dated the 6th instant That you Deliver and pay of such his Ma^{ty} Treasure as remains in your Charge unto Richard Steel Esq^{re} or to his assignes the Summe of Five Hundred pounds without account as of his Mt^{ys} free Guift and Royall Bounty And these together with his or his assignes Acquittance shall be your Discharge herein.

My Lord Denbigh I pray pay this Order out of Tonnage for the Civil List since the 1st of August.

11th January 1714

Ex Record. 11^o Jan 1714

[On the back :—]

12^o Janry 1714.

Witness Received the full Contents of this Order.

J. ffox

p me

H. Collett.

RICHARD STEELE.

In a letter written some time afterwards, but which is undated, Steele said: "I am now (I thank my brother Whigs) not possessed of twenty shillings from the favour of the Court,"

¹ The Princess of Wales went to the theatre on February 15, 1715, to see Betterton's "Wanton Wife," attended by Lady Cowper, who had already seen it once. "She liked it as well as any play she had seen," says Lady Cowper in her *Diary*; "and it certainly is not more obscene than all comedies are. It were to be wished our stage was chaster; and I cannot but hope, now it is under Mr. Steele's direction, that it will mend."

² The original paper, of which the greater part was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1840, was in the possession of the late A. Preston, Esq., of Norwich, who kindly supplied me with a copy.

from which it would appear, if we are to take this statement seriously, that the Surveyorship of the royal stables at Hampton Court was not a lucrative post. Steele adds: "The Playhouse it had been barbarity to deny at the players' request, and therefore I do not allow it a favour."¹

On the 20th January Steele left London for Boroughbridge, a place for which he was to be elected Member of Parliament. The Patent was only received on the 19th, and therefore, as Cibber says, "We were forced that very night to draw up in a hurry (till our counsel might more advisably perfect it) his assignment to us of equal shares in the Patent, with farther conditions of partnership. . . . This assignment (which I had myself the hasty penning of) was so worded, that it gave Sir Richard as equal a title to our property as it had given us to his authority in the Patent: But Sir Richard, notwithstanding, when he returned to town, took no advantage of the mistake." Cibber adds that Steele's equity and honour proved as advantageous to himself as to them, for instead of £700, his income from the theatre, by his accepting a share instead of the fixed pension, was, one year with another, about £1000.

Mrs. Steele accompanied her husband as far north as York, where she stayed at "Mr Harrison's, over against the Black Swan in Coney Street," and Steele sent her the following letters giving particulars of the electioneering campaign. Steele and Mr. Thomas Wilkinson were, on the 2nd February, duly elected members for Boroughbridge, a quiet little town, now situated on the railway from Malton to Knaresborough, and which, though it never had a corporation, returned two members to

¹ In Salmon's *Chronological Historian* (1747), ii. 45, we are told that "About this time the celebrated Mr. Steele, to his great mortification, was made Governor of the Playhouse, when he expected a post among the first Ministers of State, on the merit of his immortal libels, particularly *The Crisis*, published in the reign of Queen Anne." The writer of "A Letter to the late Author of the *Spectator* [Addison]: Occasioned by his paper of Monday, December 6, 1714," speaks of Steele "vindicating the Church, the Revolution, the Succession, suffering expulsion, ruining his fortune (to serve this end), and lastly venturing his LIFE." And according to a poem in *Military and other Poems*, 1716, p. 198, Steele meditated a retirement to Wales. The title is, "On Mr. Steel's intended Retirement into Wales, much about the same time," i.e., the same time as the return to this country of the Duke of Marlborough (mentioned in the preceding poem), which was on the 4th August 1714.

Parliament until 1832. It is evident that Steele was short of money, and had to seek assistance from Mr. Jessop, who was member for Aldborough, an ancient village close to Borough-bridge. Yet Steele had borrowed £1100 from a Mr. John Cox only at the beginning of January.¹

Jan. 27th, 1714[-5].

DEAR, DEAREST PRUE

I hope this will find You well as I am at this present Writing. I send Wilmott to know how you do only and to bring the Book concerning the Law of Elections: or, what is better, let Him bring the Green covers with Him. If you have a letter with a note of Warner's send it hither and I will have it of his Neighbour Mr. Jessop: I write now among Dancing Singings Hooping hallooing and Drinking. I think I shall succeed: My Dear I Love you to death.

RICHARD STEELE.²

If the Bill is not come and you have a Guinnea or Two send them for I would not borrow till my bill comes which will certainly be next arrivall of the Post to York.

Jan. 28th, 1714[-5].

BORROW-BRIDGE, Twelve at Night.

DEAR PRUE

I obey your directions exactly and avoid drinking, and every thing else that might give you any trouble. The Precept for electing members for this place came hither to-day, and the election is to be on Wednesday. It looks with a good face on my side. I take the opportunity of writing by the Gentleman who keeps the Black swan. He has very much pleased Me with an account that you had a River at the end of your Garden. There will be there, I doubt not, a thousand prayers offered up, to Grant Me discretion, and the ease of this World. You and Yours, I fear, will make Me covetous, I am sure you have made me value Wealth much more than I ever thought I should, but indeed I have a reason which makes it worth the pursuit, It will make me more agreeable to you.

I am indeed Prue Intirely yours

RICHARD STEELE.

I hope Nanny does not misbehave so as to disturb y^r Tranquillity.

If the Post should this night not bring Me money, I find I can have money in the Countrey and draw a bill on Mr. Castleman³ at London.

¹ See p. 109 below.

² "To M^{rs} Steele at York. Enquire at the Blackswan Coney Street." This old hotel is still flourishing.

³ The Treasurer at Drury Lane Theatre.

BORROUGH-BRIDGE,
Feb. 1st, 1714[-5].

DEAR PRUE

I am astonished Warner has not sent me a bill before now. Mr. Jessop is at the Neighbouring Borough where He is to be chosen this morning.

I will take twenty pounds of Him and send you money by an expresse which I will send to you to-morrow with advice of our Successe here. The Election is to be between Eight and Eleven in the morning. I am,

Dear Prue, Ever Thine

RICHARD STEELE.

Feb. 4th, 1714[-5].

DEAR PRUE :

This is to acquaint you that I will be with you on Saturday and then settle our Journey Home, which I propose shall be in the Coach this day se'nnight.

Y^{rs} Ever,

RICHARD STEELE.

I have got money and you shall hear of Me again to-morrow morning.

Mr. Jessop has been very Zealous in my election and stood by with His skill and Knowledge on the Spot.

On the 7th April the Deputy-Lieutenants for Middlesex and Westminster gave a banquet in honour of the Earl of Clare, their Lord-Lieutenant, and agreed upon a congratulatory address to the King, which had been drawn up by Steele, congratulating His Majesty upon his peaceable accession, and themselves upon the happiness which that accession assured to the nation. On the following day this address was presented by the Earl of Clare, accompanied by the Deputy-Lieutenants, and the King was pleased to bestow the honour of knighthood upon Steele and two of his colleagues.¹ In the month preceding Steele had

¹ In the records in the Heralds' College (Partition Book, vol. v., 225) is the following entry:—

Sep. 1, 1715.

Petition made in the College of Arms by Chas. Mawson, Esq. Chester of the Summe of Twelve pounds being the fees due to the King, Heralds and Pursuiv^{ts} of Arms (Garters fees Excepted) for the two Knights following (viz^t)

S^r Richard Steele knighted by his Ma^{tye} at his Palace of S^t James's 9th day of April 1715.

S^r Humphrey Howorth, &c.

An account, in detail, is added, showing the fee of each official, with their

been stopping with Lord Clare at Claremont. The following note is addressed "To Mrs. Steele, at her house, over against Park Place, St. James's," which, it appears, was their residence at this time.¹

March 10th, 1714-5, CLAREMONT.

DEAR PRUE

My Lord Clare (who you will own to have some pretence to command Me) will not let me come away from Hence this night. Pray forgive y^r Most Obedient Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

Steele dedicated to the Earl of Clare a small volume of his Political Writings, which he now published in collected form. They were, he said, "written to confront daring and wicked men in the prosecution of purposes destructive to their country. The honest intention of them was what first recommended me to your Lordship's friendship." He added, somewhat complainingly, that zeal for the public is especially liable to the cool comfort of being its own reward; and that what was undertaken solely from a sense of duty may become a man's characteristic, and so give a turbulent air to all his other pretensions. But it had ever been his Lordship's inclination to comfort the lovers of his country under the neglect of their friends, and to support them against the resentment of their enemies.

On the 28th May, the King's birthday, there was much rejoicing, and Steele celebrated the occasion by a grand entertainment in the great room at York Buildings, "the finest chamber I have seen," as Berkeley described it in a letter of March 1713, already given, from which it is evident that the signatures, including those of Sir John Vanbrugh, Clairanceaux, and Peter Le Neve, Norroy.

In a letter from Gay and Pope to Caryl, Pope wrote: "That I may tell you some news of another besides myself, know that Richard Steele, Esq^{re}, is now Sir Richard Steele. What reflections may be made upon this occasion, I leave to you to produce in your next lucubration." In March, in another letter from Pope and Gay about Gay's farce "What d'ye call it," in which "Cato" was parodied, Caryl was told that "Mr. Steele declares the farce should not have been acted if he had been in town. The new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields have thoughts of acting it without his consent."

¹ Steele had been looking after this house in August 1714. See the letter of August 23, 1714, p. 37.

plan of the Censorium, as it was called, was fully conceived two years before Steele's other affairs left him leisure to carry it into execution. It is to that earlier period, no doubt, that the following anecdote belongs, although, in the story as told by Drake,¹ Steele is spoken of as "Sir Richard." Wishing to ascertain whether the room was as well calculated to gratify the ear as the eye, he desired the carpenter "to ascend a pulpit placed at one end of the building and speak a few sentences. The carpenter obeyed, but when mounted found himself utterly at a loss for the matter of his harangue. Sir Richard begged he would pronounce whatever came first into his head. Thus encouraged, the new-made orator began, and looking steadily at the knight, in a voice like thunder, exclaimed, 'Sir Richard Steele, here has I, and these here men, been doing your work for three months, and never seen the colour of your money. When are you to pay us? I cannot pay my journeymen without money, and money I must have.' Sir Richard replied that he was in raptures with the eloquence, but by no means admired the subject."

Steele has described the Censorium fully in his *Town-Talk*.² The select assembly which was to be entertained was to consist of a hundred gentlemen and as many ladies, "of leading taste in politeness, wit, and learning." The entertainment, which was to last two hours and a half, comprised music, eloquence, and poetry; and great incidents in antiquity were represented as nearly as might be in the manner in which they were transacted. The room itself was beautifully adorned, and the seats built in the form of an amphitheatre; and the lights were so arranged that the company themselves became a more beautiful scene than any of them had witnessed before. The public taste in pleasures needed improvement, and this was a design to promote virtue by pleasure, and knowledge by diversion.

At the performance on the King's birthday the audience consisted of those invited to be present; but the list of two hundred subscribers was already full. The refreshments pro-

¹ *Essays*, 1805, i. 179-180.

² No. 4. Among the Blenheim MSS. is a draft, with numerous alterations, of a portion of this number.

vided in the area on this occasion appear to have had an air of great magnificence, though Steele says, in self-defence, that they "came within the sum of sixteen pounds." The festival was celebrated, he says in another place, "at an expense not often to be repeated by a man of the greatest fortune; but which, all the performers in it being volunteers, was much below what some with a kind, and others with a malicious design, reported it." Miss Younger recited a Prologue, written by Tickell, which was followed by an Ode in honour of the King and the Royal Family, addressed to the person seated on the Throne, who represented Liberty. After this, and before the company proceeded to supper, Wilks spoke an Epilogue, attributed to Addison, in which, as Steele himself tells us in *Town-Talk*, besides allusions to many incidents in the life and conduct of the founder of the feast, the sanguine temper which precipitates people into excessive expenditure above their character and circumstances was admirably rallied. It was his willingness to be and to bear anything with his friends while they were such that made it possible for him to stand "the loud laughter on the several occasions wherein Wilks made no scruple of pointing at him, while he spoke the verses." This was the Epilogue:—

The Sage whose guest you are to-night, is known
 To watch the public weal, though not his own :
 Still have his thoughts uncommon schemes pursued,
 And teemed with projects for his country's good.
 Early in youth his enemies have shewn,
 How narrowly he missed the Chemic Stone :
 Not Friar Bacon promised England more ;
 Our artist, lavish of his fancied ore,
 Could he have brought his great design to pass,
 Had walled us round with gold instead of brass.
 That project sunk, you saw him entertain
 A notion more chimerical and vain,
 To give chaste morals to ungoverned youth,
 To gamesters honesty, to statesmen truth ;
 To make you virtuous all ; a thought more bold
 Than that of changing dross and lead to gold.
 But now to greater actions he aspired,
 For still his country's good our champion fired ;

In treaties versed, in politics grown wise,
 He looked on Dünkirk with suspicious eyes ;
 Into her dark foundations boldly dug,
 And overthrew in fight the famed Sieur Tugghe.
 Still on his wide unwearied view extends,
 Which I may tell, since none are here but friends ;
 In a few months he is not without hope,
 But 'tis a secret, to convert the Pope.
 Of this, however, he'll inform you better,
 Soon as his Holiness receives his Letter.
 Meantime he celebrates, for 'tis his way,
 With something singular this happy day ;
 His honest zeal ambitious to approve
 For the Great Monarch he was born to love ;
 Resolved in arms and arts to do him right,
 And serve his sovereign like a trusty knight.

The allusion to the Pope in these lines relates to a satirical Dedication to his Holiness Clement XI., signed "Richard Steele," but really written by Bishop Hoadly, which was prefixed to a book that had been published on the 13th May,¹ called *An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World*. This book, which served as a sequel to Steele's *Romish Ecclesiastical History of Late Years*, published in 1714, was a translation² from an Italian MS. written for the use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monsieur Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and it reached a second edition in 1716, when a new Preface was added, with references to the Rebellion on behalf of the Pretender. Addison probably knew, as Mr. Dobson says, that Steele was only the putative author

¹ *Daily Courant*, May 12, 1715. Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, speaks of Hoadly's Dedication as the most spirited thing he ever wrote. It called forth two pamphlets hostile to Steele ; the first, with the initials "T. B." after the Dedication, "Remarks upon the truth, design, and seasonableness of Sir Richard Steele's Dedication to the Pope, to which is prefixed, a Dedication to the said Knight, in the same style and manner;" the second, "Brief Reflections on Sir Richard Steele's large Dedication to the Pope, and his Preface to a Book intituled, 'An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World.' By D. P., M.A., a Country Curate."

² Done by Michael de la Roche, author of the *Memoirs of Literature* (*Biog. Brit.*, "Steele," p. 3830).

of the Dedication to the Pope, and the allusion in his Epilogue, spoken at the Censorium, was made satirically.

The Censorium appears to have succeeded, and to have lasted for some time. Among the Blenheim MSS., besides fragments of prologues intended for use at York Buildings, there is a portion of a draft agreement or memorandum in Steele's writing: "To have the House Musick room and all the Appurtenances of His Dwelling house in York buildings in y^e Parish of S^{nt} Martin's in y^e Feilds for three years at 50' per Añ by Quarterly payments. Power of Renewall for any Longer time y^e Landlord Reserving a liberty of raising the rent to 60' per Annum after y^e expiration of the 1st 3 years." There is also a draft letter, dwelling on the expense to which Steele had been put in arranging for the entertainments at York Buildings, and begging that arrears of pension should be promptly paid him.

S^r

I tooke the liberty at my Lord Treasurers to desire you'd please to speake for me to His Lordship that two hundred and fifty pounds due to me as pension from the Queen might be payd. I have at my own private Charge and Expençe prepared a Roome in York building for select Audiences, where there will, I doubt not, be performances in Eloquence and Musick transcending, if I may beleive men of good Judgement, what has ever appeared before in any Age or any Nation. This matter has already cost me a thousand pounds, and made me very bare of money. The Generall purpose of my Studies and actions is the promotion of Elegant delights and Stirring Generous Principles. And when I consider what admirable things by my procurement or sollicitation have been produced to the learned world within this four years last past, I cannot but think any pertinaciusnesse in private opinion ought to be overlooked, and I, if not received in particular favour, ought at least [to be] distinguished from the Crowd of those who partake the Queen's Bounty by a prompt payment of it. If my Lord would be pleased to order me this money it would quicken affairs,¹ and your mediation in my behalfe would extremely oblige, S^r,

Y^r Most Obedient

& Most Humble Servant.

¹ There are here inserted in the MS. some words which are partly illegible: "which would be no dishonour to . . . (?) bribe under this Administration."

An engraving of the medal used as an admission ticket to the Censorium was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1802.¹

Steele was but slightly concerned in two quarrels, one literary, the other theatrical, which occupied public attention at this time. It is not necessary to enter here into the causes which led to the estrangement between Addison and Pope. Pope had been flattered by the praise bestowed upon his work in the *Spectator*, but he grew jealous of Philips and Tickell, who were under Addison's especial patronage, and he managed to avenge himself upon Philips in a paper which he contributed to the *Guardian*. He afterwards consulted Addison as to whether he should make certain alterations in the *Rape of the Lock*; but he did not take Addison's advice, and then suspected that Addison had designedly advised him wrongly. In politics, too, the difference of opinion grew wider and wider, although Addison urged Pope not to plunge into party, and so have to content himself with the praise of only half the nation. In October 1713 Addison congratulated Pope upon the proposals which he had just issued for a translation of the Iliad, to be published by subscription. Soon after the Queen's death Addison expressed to Jervas, the painter, his desire to oblige Pope in any way that he could, but Pope received these advances coldly. However, in October 1714 Pope wrote a polite letter, hoping that some late malevolences had lost their effect, and asking Addison to look over the two first books of his Iliad. Soon afterwards they met at Button's, when Addison asked Pope to dine with him, and after dinner told Pope that Tickell had a translation of the first book of the Iliad ready for publication, and wished him to look it over; he begged, therefore, to be excused looking at Pope's. Pope then asked him to read his second book, and this Addison did, returning it with high praise. But the renewed friendship was short-lived. Pope's first volume appeared in June, and in the same week Tickell's translation was published, with an explanation that it was put forth only to bespeak sympathy for

¹ In 1719 two courses of Experimental Philosophy were given by Desaguliers and others "at Sir Richard Steele's great Room in Villiers Street" (*Daily Post*, Nov. 17, 1719, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 7th S. v. 465).

a proposed translation of the *Odyssey*. The two translations were, naturally, compared, and Pope's enmity increased. Gay wrote to Pope, on the 8th July, that Garth bid him say that every one was pleased with Pope's translation, except a few at Button's, and that Steele told him that Addison said the other translation was the best that ever was in any language. Pope wrote bitterly of Cato's little Senate at Button's, and said that Philips and others were encouraged to abuse him by reporting that he and Swift had entered into a cabal to undermine the reputation of Philips and of Steele and Addison. There had, too, said Pope, been underhand dealing in the writing of Tickell's version.¹ Finally he sent to Addison the bitter lines published years afterwards as a character of Atticus,² although Addison had, after receiving the verses, spoken of Pope's Homer in the most friendly terms in his *Freeholder*. Pope did not hesitate to quote as Addison's, and to ridicule, a portion of Tickell's translation; while, on the other hand, in the last of the *Moral Essays*—"To Mr. Addison, occasioned by his Dialogue on Medals"—he associated Addison's name with Virgil's:—

"Or in fair series laurell'd bards be shown,
A Virgil there, and here an Addison."³

Miss Aikin is no doubt right in regarding as a fabrication the story of a meeting between Pope and Addison, in the presence of their friends Gay and Steele, which only resulted in a final breach.

The theatrical case in which Steele was interested was an action brought by Doggett in December 1714 against Wilks, Cibber, Booth, Steele, Castleman, and Collier in the Court of

¹ In the Dedication of the *Drummer* to Congreve, in 1722, Steele spoke of Tickell as "the reputed translator of the First Book of Homer;" but at this time Steele was annoyed with Tickell. There can be no doubt that Tickell really wrote the translation published under his name.

² The libel seems to have been first printed in December 1722, in the *St. James's Journal*. In the version there given Addison is directly named,— "Who would not weep if Ad——n were he!" (See *Academy*, February, 9, 16, and 13, and March 9, 1889.)

³ Pope afterwards said that these lines were written in 1715, and not published until 1720, when Tickell's edition of Addison's Works appeared. But Tickell's edition was not published until 1721, and it is probable that Pope's lines were written about the same time.

Chancery, with a cross action against Doggett, commenced in March 1715 by Wilks and Cibber.¹ In April 1712 a licence was granted to Collier, Wilks, Cibber, and Doggett to act at Drury Lane; Collier receiving a pension of £700 a year from the theatre, but taking no active part in the management. In November 1713 this licence was revoked and a new licence granted, in which Booth's name was introduced as a partner. The alteration was, of course, opposed by Wilks and Cibber; but when they found resistance was useless, they made the best bargain they could with Booth, obtaining from him £600 as payment for his share in the scenes, clothes, &c., of the theatre. But Doggett, who appears to have saved money, and therefore felt more free in his actions, would have nothing to do with the new licence, and took no part in the acting or in the management of the theatre after Booth's admittance. Upon the death of Queen Anne a new licence had to be obtained, and Doggett's name was included in the one granted on the 18th October 1714. In January 1715 Letters Patent were granted to Steele, and in the agreement drawn up on the same day Doggett's name was not omitted, but he, unlike Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, never executed the articles of the agreement. On the 3rd November 1714 Wilks and Cibber petitioned that Doggett should be ordered to act all his usual parts, in which case they would gladly admit him to an equal share in the licence.² Doggett then appealed to the Vice-Chamberlain, and had sufficient influence to get an order positively commanding the managers to pay Doggett his whole share—they had offered him a half-share as a sinecure—though he would not act. Cibber was determined not to obey this unreasonable order, and he and Wilks prepared a remonstrance. This led to a reply, and, as Cibber puts it, "when this formidable power began to *parley* with us, we knew there could not be much to be feared from it," and in the end Doggett was left to the law for relief. At the outset of the quarrel the defendants had the advantage of Doggett in having three pockets to draw

¹ See Cibber's *Apology*, chap. xiv., and the official documents in the Record Office (Chancery Pleadings, Sewell, 1714-58, No. 6; Reynardson, 1714-58, No. 2342; Decrees, 1714 A and B, 1715 A and B, 1716 A).

² Lord Chamberlain's Records, Old Theatrical Papers, No. 55.

from, while he had only one. Cibber therefore instructed their solicitor to use all possible delay that the law would admit of, by which means "we hung up our plaintiff about two years." This is not the place to enter into particulars of the arguments brought before the Court. Doggett had acted as treasurer at the theatre, and when he left the house in November 1713 he had in his possession £233 of the profits, which he refused to divide, on the ground that he was entitled to one-third of the profits since he left the theatre. He charged Wilks and Cibber with departing from their agreement with him in several matters, which had caused him great loss. This Wilks and Cibber denied, and said that, being the majority, they had a right, under the agreement, to act as they had done. Steele's answer to Doggett's bill, dated 20th May 1715, was brief. He said that he was a stranger to and was unconcerned in all matters antecedent to the granting of the licence to him. In that licence Doggett's name was inserted, at Steele's instance, as Steele believed Doggett would act in concert with Wilks, Cibber, and Booth; otherwise he could and would have left Doggett's name out, as the licence was granted at the sole instance and in favour of Steele only. But Doggett never acted since that licence was granted. And afterwards a Patent was granted to Steele, with the consent of Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, on condition that the said Letters Patent should not be participated in by any except those named in the preceding licence. On the 19th January 1715 Steele entered into an agreement with Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, assigning to each of them, and to Doggett, an equal fifth part in the Letters Patent; but Doggett had never executed this agreement. No further agreements had been entered into. This was all Steele need answer, and he prayed that the case should be dismissed with costs.

Throughout 1715 and 1716 the matter was frequently before the Court. On the 8th August 1715 leave was given to the defendants in the original cause to examine Steele, a material witness for them. On the 24th January 1716 leave was given to Doggett to produce witnesses to prove an agreement signed by Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, for converting the licence into Letters Patent to Steele, and a copy of Steele's petition to the King to

grant him the Patent was put in. On the 6th February Doggett was ordered to pay Steele and Castleman 40s. each for their costs in the cause wherein they were defendants. The final judgment was not pronounced until March 1717, when the Lord Chancellor decided that Wilks, &c., had lost through Doggett not acting, and that Doggett was not entitled to share the profits made since he ceased to act; but he had a right to a fourth part of the scenes and clothes, which was worth £600. As Doggett elected not to return to the theatre, it was ordered that he should have £600, and fifteen per cent. as interest since the 23rd November 1713, when he left the company. He would then be excluded from any share in the theatre. Each side was to pay its own costs. "By this decree," says Cibber, "Doggett, when his lawyer's bill was paid, scarce got one year's purchase of what we had offered him without law, which (as he survived but seven years after it) would have been an annuity of £500, and a sinecure for life."

II.

"THE ENGLISHMAN," VOL. II. THE MASTERSHIP OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.

1715. ÆT. 43.

IN July 1715 Steele commenced a fresh series of the *Englishman*. The first number appeared on July 11, and the thirty-eighth and last on November 21. This paper was published on Monday and Friday, as a folio half-sheet, at the price of three-halfpence,¹ and the series was reprinted in a duodecimo volume in 1716. In either form copies of this continuation of the *Englishman* are rather scarce. Parliament had met on the 17th March, and from the Address moved by Walpole in the House of Commons it was at once clear that the Government intended to take action against the late Ministry. Oxford determined to await the result, but Bolingbroke fled in disguise to France, and soon became Secretary of State to the Pretender. The Duke of Ormond, relying upon his popularity, adopted a more defiant attitude than either of the others. A Committee of Secrecy was appointed, and on the 9th June its Report was read to the House. Bolingbroke and Oxford were at once impeached of high treason, and Ormond was also impeached, though after considerable debate. Ormond thereupon fled to France, to spend the remaining thirty years of his life in exile. Bills of attainder were of course passed against him and Bolingbroke, and in July Oxford was committed to the Tower. It was at this point that Steele resumed the *Englishman*, which appeared in order "to awaken the spirit proper to his name and character, when his enemies are just now detected, and the representative body of the Commons of Great Britain are tracing the footsteps of those

¹ *Daily Courant*, July 12, 1715.

who have lately betrayed their Queen and country into the hands of the French King." The first volume was written "with a direct intention to destroy the credit and frustrate the designs of wicked men, at that time in power;" the second volume brought together facts to make good the accusations previously levelled at these parricides.¹ Of Bolingbroke, Steele said, in the ninth number: "The breach of treaties, the slavery of his country, and destruction of all things which are valuable amongst men, were not only designed by this Lord with propense malice and treachery, but also executed with wantonness and pleasure." In the next number he spoke of Ormond, his old patron, as "the only man who can be looked upon as unfortunate." The Duke was induced by others into what he did, and he could not dispute the orders which he received when in command of the troops. But the widespread sympathy for him was unavailing in the face of his ill-judged flight. "Let the head of a loyal and illustrious family be enough punished for whatever he has committed by the fatality of having chosen, instead of the remains of a princely fortune, a dependance on an insolent and ingrateful Court for bread; and instead of the possession of ease, liberty, and property, to pass the remainder of an honourable life in sorrow, exile, and poverty." In No. 12 Steele spoke of the manner in which the Duke of Marlborough, "a most able, upright, and experienced minister," was dismissed from his high station; and No. 22 contained a letter signed with Steele's own name, called "The Present Case of the British Subject Considered;"² in answer to a pamphlet called *A Letter to Richard Steele, Esq.*, which had arraigned the King's title. The Government, in a proclamation dated July 25, and signed by Townshend, had offered a reward of £100 for the discovery or apprehension of either printer or publisher of this "treasonable pamphlet," they having both absconded. Edmund Powell, of Blackfriars, was charged by information on oath with having printed, and Thomas Atkins, of the parish of St Clement Danes, "who was formerly a shoemaker, and has lately taken up the trade of vending stitched books and other printed papers," with

¹ *The Englishman*, vol. ii., Preface, 1716.

² This was reprinted in a pamphlet called *The British Hero*, 1715.

having published the *Letter*.¹ In July 1716 several authors and printers of political pamphlets were tried at the Old Bailey, and among those found guilty and fined was Henry Cheap, for writing this *Letter*.² "I have," wrote Steele, "long sacrificed with pleasure what little reputation and good will I had gotten in the world in writing of diversion and assumed characters, to make it a vehicle to convey to the people what I thought for the public service; and I hope I shall be excused, that when I see it is made a pass for the forces of the enemy, that I recall it, especially now it is dignified with knighthood, to the only use for which its being so public is a pleasure to me." This was published in September; in the preceding month Steele and his brother member, Mr. Wilkinson, introduced by the Duke of Newcastle, presented to the King an Address from the Bailiff, Burghers, and Burgesses of Boroughbridge, which, in effusive terms, expressed abhorrence of the efforts made by wicked men on behalf of the Pretender.

Buckley's account for printing the *Englishman* during July and August still exists among the Blenheim papers. The cost of the paper and printing for each number was £1, and 13,175 copies in all were printed, that is, an average of 878 copies for each of the first fifteen numbers. Advertisements brought in only 15s.³

¹ *London Gazette*, July 26-30, 1715.

² Defoe's *Mercurius Politicus*, July 1716.

³ *Acco^t of Englishman for July and Aug. 1715.*

Rec ^d of M ^r Burleigh	Paid	£	s	d
as p^{t} his acc ^{ts}	Paper & Print of the 15 Numbers			
or Eng ^l in July 14 6 6	of Eng ^l in Jul. & Aug. at 1 ^l each	15	0	0
in Aug. 26 7 2	Paid for the stamps of			
6 advertisements 0 15 0	the 11 ^r . 12 ^{grs} single sold in July			
	14. 5 — sold in Aug.			
	14 less in his hands			
41. 8 8	all as p^{t} his account	27	7	11½
	26. 11			
	i.e. 13 ^r . 5 ^{gr} and 12 sh. & ½ double			
	which make 13175 stamps			
	2 Com prayers in folio } cost . . .	1	13	6
	2 ————— in 8 ^o }			
	Carry forward,	£44	1	5½

Besides the *Englishman*, Steele contemplated issuing, perhaps about this time, a newspaper to be called the *Hanover Post*. Two leaves, given below, of what seems to be a fair copy of the manuscript of the opening number of this periodical are preserved, also among the Blenheim MSS., but the paper does not appear to have been printed.

"The design of this paper is more extensive, and its view to the public good more direct, than is usual in works of this kind. On one hand, the want of skill in writers of intelligence produces such mistakes that explanations are frequently wanting both wth respect to persons and things; On the other, so many libels are successfully dispersed under the notion of public News, that scarce anything comes to us in its genuin & naturall colours; it is very reasonable therefore, that our country should have a friend in this rank of Authors, and that one of them should more immediately regard the interests of Truth and honour.

"This is what has engaged me in the present undertaking, in the course of which, as proper occasions offer, it shall be my care to obviate whatever may be of disservice to the cause of Justice and liberty, to take off the prejudices which are perpetually instilled into the minds of the people by artifice and misrepresentation, to place things in true lights, to guard the reputation of gentlemen, honoured with high trusts, so as they may neither suffer from unjust censure or from ignorant praise, In a word, to relate what passes daily in the world in such a manner as may gain the attention and good will of the sensible and honest part of mankind, and that perhaps without being tedious to those who read only for amusement.

"I shall be so much what some people call a Partyman as to assert the interests of the Protestant Establishment & vindicate on

		£	s	d
		Brought forward,	44	1 5½
	p ^d June 15, 1714		2	3 0
	Aug 20, 1715		3	4 6
	3 Sets of Eng. . 45			
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Buckley	8 6 0	60	come to about	0 5 8½
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				49 14 8

Sept. 20, 1715. Rec^d this Balance by a note under
S^r Richard Steele's Hand. S. BUCKLEY.

proper occasions the honour of the best servants of my country, with this reserve, that nothing shall be produced in this paper in favour of things or persons, but what shall be supported by the evidence of facts. To be more particular, the Hannover Post will be distinguished from other papers chiefly by his dress; an endeavour to tell common things in an acceptable manner & to give some life and spirit to plain narrations is what must recommend him and give him distinction among the Authors of the week. Of the earliness and goodness of his intelligence, which is the proper merit of a writer of news, considered merely as such, he leaves the public to judge, with this assurance, that nothing shall be related in the following half sheets but on the best and most authentic grounds, nor any thing discovered to be a mistake but shall be retracted with the most unreserved candour."

Among other things Steele was one of "the Stewards of the Protestants of Ireland for the celebration of their anniversary meeting in London, in memory of their deliverance from a general massacre begun in that Kingdom by the Irish Papists in the year 1641, and appointed by Act of Parliament there;" and in that capacity he signed a petition to Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, recommending the Rev. Jonathan Smedley, Preacher to the Protestants of Ireland for this present year, 1715, as a person fit to be encouraged, and worthy of his Majesty's favour. Smedley had suffered in his fortune through his adherence to the Hanoverian interest, and it was on account of this, "and of his excellent and seasonable discourse preached before them at this time, as well as in regard to his being a person of known abilities," that the Stewards now put forward his name. The petition was signed "Meath; Mountjoy; Castle-comer; S. Molyneux; Robt. Finlay; Richard Steele."¹

In August Steele appears to have received £500 from Walpole. In the Report of the Secret Committee of 1742, it is stated that £500 was paid "to Leonard Welsted, gent., for special services, Aug. 27, 1715;" and this is one of the things for which he was reproached in the notes to the *Dunciad*; but Welsted, who was a clerk in the office of one of the Secretaries of State, and a friend of Steele, to whom he had some months

¹ Hist. MSS. Commission, 11th Report, Part 4, p. 130.

before addressed two poems, an imitation from Horace, called "A Prophecy," and "An Epistle to Mr. Steele on the King's Accession to the Crown," declared to a certain Alderman Walthoe, of St. Albans (according to the *Biographia Britannica*), "that he received the money for the use of Sir R. Steele, and paid it to him." This is fully borne out by the following letter to Lady Steele, which also contains another suggestion of that lady's complaints of the want of money.

Augst 14th, 1715,
SPEAKER'S CHAMBERS.

DEAR PRUE

I write this before I go to L^d Marleborough's to let You Know that there was no one at the Treasury but Kelsey, with Whome Welsted left the Order and He is to be at the Treasury again to-morrow between two and Three when, without doubt, the money will be payd. I have no hopes from that or any thing else; but by Dint of Riches to get the government of y^r Ladyship.¹

Y^{rs}

RICHARD STEELE.

Dr. Thomas Burnet, the learned author of *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, died on the 27th September 1715, and it occurred to Steele that he might apply for the post thus made vacant of Master of the Charterhouse. One difficulty, however, was that he was married, and was thereby, under ordinary circumstances, disqualified by the statutes. Within a week of Dr. Burnet's death he wrote to Lord Chief-Justice Parker, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Macclesfield.²

S^{NT} JAMES'S STREET,
Oct^{br} 3^d, 1715.

MY MOST HONOURED LORD

I went to your door on Saturday with my Freind Mr Benson³ but we were not so fortunate as to find you at Home. If we had

¹ Nichols quotes from the *Englishman*, No. 47, January 21, 1713-14, a story, in a letter from "James Fondling," of the equanimity shown by a sailor when told that he had got a prize of £10,000 in the lottery. "I speak it sincerely," says the writer, "I had much rather have his temper than his fortune; for had it happened to me, alas! I should have given it, like a slave as I am, to a woman who despises me without it. Hang her, however, I wish I had it for her sake." But we are hardly warranted in assuming that Steele wrote this letter, or, if he did, that it contained any autobiographical allusion.

² Stowe MSS., 233, British Museum.

³ William Benson, Esq., Auditor of the Imprest.

been more lucky, He was to have let your Lordship know that I am your Petitioner to succeed D^r Burnett Master of the Charterhouse lately Deceased.

The great objections that can be raised to me, are that I am married,¹ and am said to have Employments elsewhere that may hinder my Residence. As to the first It is only an Order of the Governors which they can discretionally observe or not. The matter of being elsewhere employed is nothing but that I have an income out of the Playhouse as Patentee, and am Surveyor of the Stables at Hampton-Court, where I have nothing to do but to give in an estimate in case they want being repaired. So that there is nothing in either of these cases that hinder[s] my Residence at Charterhouse, where I desire only to go out of fullness of Heart to be eminently serviceable to the foundation wherein I had my Education.

I am, My Lord,
 With the utmost respect
 Submitting this matter to you,
 Y^r most Obedient
 Most Obliged Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

¹ Steele's candidature, and the difficulty presented by his marriage, are noticed in a tract called *Sir Richard Steele's Recantation*: "Proved in a letter of thanks from his Holiness Pope Clement XI. for the service done the Catholic Church by the Dedication and Preface of a late book, intituled, 'An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World.' With a copy of verses added, by Mr. Sewell," 1715. This pamphlet contains various sarcastic remarks, of no special interest, especially as Steele—and at this the writer hints—was not the real author of the Dedication to the Pope under discussion. At the end are verses by Mr. Sewell, sneering at Steele's poem on the death of Queen Mary, "published eighteen years after it was written." Sewell, who does not appear to have known that the *Procession*, though printed in Steele's *Miscellany* in 1713, had been published separately in 1695, immediately after Queen Mary's death, wrote thus:—

"But honest Dick, who was not then a-wit,
 And only whispered to a friend, he—writ,"

knew Horace's advice to a poet to keep his verse locked up for nine years, and concluded that twice nine years would work wonders on the rhyme. But now the town could see what he himself wrote, without his friend's aid,—“You flourished like your self in Ninety Five.” At the end of this pamphlet two others are advertised, but whether they ever appeared I do not know;—“A full vindication of the religion, wisdom and justice of King George, from the base and malicious insinuations of one Sir Richard Steele in a letter to Pope Clement XI.,” and “A complaint from the Church of England to the House of Commons, against the public assault of Sir Richard Steele, a Member of that Honourable House, on her rights, immunities, discipline, practice, &c., shewing

A few days later Steele wrote the following rather excitable letter to Mrs. Clayton, Mistress of the Robes to the Princess of Wales: ¹—

Oct^{br} 14th, 1715,
S^T JAMES'S STREET.

MADAM

I receive, as I ought, the great condescension in my favour from a person whome I will not take the liberty to name; It would have been more surprising to me than it was, If I had not always thought any thing Heroically Good was to be expected from thence.

I will not proceed in the Affair of the Charterhouse, except I have the direct promise of the majority, tho' had not I been influenced as I am now with the most intire resignation to the rule you have given me, I should have taken a pleasure to perplex those who have a great mind to be Artfull, and of whome Providence has taken so great care that it [will] not let them be any thing at all, if they are not Honest.

I sincerely assure you, that I do not seek this Station upon any other view but to do good to others, and if I do not gett it, you will see my opposers repent that they would not let me be Humble. For I shall then think myself obliged to show them what place among mankind I am really in, and how usefull I can be to the Family to whose Service I have devoted my life and Fortune.

I am, Madam,
Y^r most obliged and
most obedient Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

Steele also sent a petition to the King, asking for the Mastership. In it he says that the employments which he resigned when he entered Parliament were worth £700 a year; and that

that he ought to be expelled the House, as well as his countryman Asgil." Nichols mentions the pamphlet, "Sir Richard Steele's Recantation," as advertised in the *Post-Boy* for July 19, 1715. I have not been able to find a copy of that paper, but if the date given is correct, the advertisement must have been only a preliminary announcement, for the allusion to the Charterhouse shows that the tract cannot have been published before October. Some particulars of Dr. George Sewell, who is said to have assisted in Harrison's continuation of the *Tatler*, will be found in Chalmers's *Tatler*, 1806, vol. i. p. lxx.

¹ The original of this letter is in Mr. A. Morrison's collection. The name of Steele's correspondent does not appear on the letter, but in 1847, when it was printed by Mrs. Thomson in her *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon* (i. 53), it seems to have been among the family papers.

all he desired were means to enable him to live as a gentleman for the rest of his life. Of this petition there are two fair copies and one draft among the Blenheim MSS.

AU ROI

La Tres Humble Requête du Chevalier Richard Steele

Represente Tres-Humblement

Qu'étant persuadé, sous le Dernier Reyne qu'on avait formé¹ des desseins contre la Succession de Votre Illustre Maison (ce qui a été confirmé par tout ce qui est arrivé depuis) le Suppliant resigna ses Emplois qui lui valoient sept cent livres sterling par An, et refusa actuellement toutes les offres qu'on lui fit, a moins qu'on ne le convainquît que la succession n'étoit point en danger.

Qu'il entra dans la Chambre des communes quoiqu'il sçût que son Zele l'avoit rendu si odieux, qu'il en seroit chassé; et qu'il ne le fit que dans la Vue d'allarmer la nation en lui faisant connoître par la liberté de ses discours, le Danger ou elle étoit, en donnant occasion à quelques membres de l'attaquer sur ce qu'il avoit écrit.

Qu'on lui avoit offert ci-devant la direction du Theatre, parce qu'on le connoit capable de Rectifier les Representations qui s'y font.

Que sous le Reyne de Votre Majesté il a présenté une Tres Humble Requête pour avoir la direction du Theatre qu'il avoit refusée auparavant. Votre Majesté a eu la Bonté de Lui en accorder une Patente, mais le Revenu de cet emploi est fort incertain.

C'est pour quoi le Suppliant (qui sera toujours devoué au Service de Vostre Majesté et qui n'a rien en Vue que de se procurer un établissement, qui le mette en état de vivre en Gentilhomme pendant le rest de sa vie) supplie Tres Humblement Votre Majesté de vouloir bien lui donner le Gouvernement de la Chartreuse comme le plus Grand de ses Souhaits.²

Et le Suppliant (comme c'est son devoir) Prierà, &c.

The result of the election may be gathered from the *Weekly Packet*. The readers of the number for November 12-19 were

¹ The second fair copy reads, "formé le dessein d'Empêcher que Votre Majesté ne succedat à la Couronne."

² In the rough draft, as first written, there followed the words, "et ce sera la dernier faveur qu'il demandera à Votre Majesté," but they were subsequently cancelled, doubtless from a feeling that they were rather rash.

told, "We hear that on Monday next, the Governors of Sutton's Hospital, called the Charter-House, are to proceed to the choice of a Master, to succeed the learned Dr. Burnet lately deceased; and that out of 12 Voices Sir R——d S——l will have 8, tho' he is a married man, and therefore said to be disqualified by the Founder's Statutes: But this is to be done with a certain reservation, and not to be made a precedent at future elections: Tho' how such a sort of ecclesiastical preferment is consistent with the lay office of being Superintendent of His Majesty's Company of Comedians it is not very easy to determine." In the next number, for November 19–26, it was announced that "the mastership of the Charter House is at last conferred on the Reverend Dr. John King,"¹ who had been Preacher in the Charterhouse for twenty years.

¹ "The Lord Chancellor could not be prevailed on to break through the Statutes of the place to gratify your ambition to the Charterhouse" (*A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S., &c.*, 1716). Dr. King wrote several letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, asking for his support; and Dr. George Stanhope wrote on behalf of Mr. Harris, chaplain to the Duke of Argyle. Dr. Stanhope mentioned Steele as another competitor, who might get Crown influence in his favour (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, 11th Report, Part 5, p. 322).

III.

THE REBELLION OF 1715, AND THE FORFEITED ESTATES.

1715-16. ÆT. 43-4.

PLANS for a rising on behalf of the Pretender had been in active progress throughout the year that George I. had now reigned. The disaffection was greatest in Scotland, but Ormond, who, until his flight, acted as leader in this country, sent very exaggerated accounts of the number of Jacobites in England to Bolingbroke, who was working for the Pretender in France at the same time that he was professing his perfect loyalty to the new English Ambassador, Lord Stair, who had replaced Prior. Everything depended on whether the French would give active aid. This they might have done if Louis XIV. had lived; but his health was failing, and on the 1st September he died. "My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired," said Bolingbroke. The Regent Orleans was determined, for his own ends, to maintain peace, and Bolingbroke wrote urging the leaders in this country to give up all idea of a rising. But the warning came too late. The Earl of Mar, acting, it is said, by direct order from the Pretender, had gone to Scotland to take immediate action. Mar, who was known as "Bobbing John," on account of the number of times that he had changed his party, had been at King George's levee on the 1st August; on the 2nd he set out for the Highlands, and on the 6th September raised the Pretender's standard. The Duke of Argyle, who was placed in command of such troops as could be spared for Scotland, could only stand on the defensive. After some procrastination,

Mar sent a detachment southwards under Brigadier Mackintosh, and this body of 1500 men effected a junction at Kelso with the followers of Lord Kenmure, Mr. Forster, who had been chosen as the leader of a rising in Northumberland, and Lord Derwentwater. The combined force, weakened by desertions, penetrated as far as Preston, but there they were surrounded and obliged to surrender on the 13th November; and on the same day Mar was defeated at Sheriffmuir. The rebellion was practically over, for although the Pretender landed at Peterhead in the following month, and assumed all the marks of royalty, he did not inspire enthusiasm, and was in reality powerless. Eventually, on the 4th February, he forsook his followers, and embarked in a small vessel for France, with Mar and a few others.

Soon after the commencement of the rising, on the 30th September,¹ Steele published a tract upon the sacredness of the oath of allegiance, and the manner in which it had been broken by the Earl of Mar, who deserted King George, from whom he was already in receipt of undeserved favour, "from no other motive but hopes of larger supplies to his avarice and ambition." The pamphlet was called *A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King, before His Majesty's arrival in England. With some Remarks on My Lord's subsequent Conduct*, and in it Steele printed a letter full of professing loyalty, which Mar sent to the King in August, and declarations and letters on behalf of James the Eighth, written in September. We shall see hereafter how Steele spoke of those who had taken part in the rising when the question of their fate had to be decided.

At this time Steele had, besides the house "over against Park Place, St. James's Street," a small house, of which the rent was £14 a year, in Paradise Row, Chelsea, "by the water-side." There he was living in November, as appears from an entry dated November 12, 1715, in the Registers of Chelsea Parish Church, of the burial of Margaret—probably a servant—daughter of Edward Seat, "from Sir Richard Steele's."

The following letter from Lord Stair, whom Lord Chesterfield called "the most polished gentleman I ever knew," relates,

¹ *Daily Courant*, September 30, 1715. The tract is reprinted in Somers, *Tracts*, 2nd edit., xiii., 723.

presumably, to some performers whom Steele desired to secure for his Censorium.

PARIS, Nov^r 1715.

SIR

I received y^r commands some time ago concerning M^r Baxter and his companion, they took some time to consider w^t answer they should make, it is y^t they are engaged to a woman here for y^e fair of S^t Germain w^{ch} begins y^e 2nd of February. Baxter has 5000 livres from her, so y^e time being so short they are unwilling to make y^e journey into England; when the fair is over you may command y^m but I suppose y^t wont answer to y^r view w^{ch} was to have em for y^e winter.

I'm sorry my negociation has no better success, but I hope y^t wont rebut you from employing mee whenever you think I can be usefull to you. I'll give you my word [no one] can be wth more sincere value and esteem yⁿ I am, Sir,

Y^r very obedient

and very humble servant

STAIR.¹

S^r R. Steele.

In December Steele and Addison each commenced a new periodical. The first number of Steele's venture, *Town-Talk*, "in a letter to a lady in the country," appeared on the 17th December, and the paper was issued weekly until the 13th February 1716. In form it was a quarto pamphlet, and was sold at threepence. There does not seem to be any ground for the suggestion that these papers were in reality taken from letters to Lady Steele, for they relate principally to the passing events of the day, and Lady Steele was not "in the country" during the weeks in which they appeared. The periodical was, Steele wrote, "particularly designed to be helpful to the stage."² He was "a professed admirer of Shakespeare and of his plays."³

¹ Blenheim MSS. On the back Steele has written:—

	5000 livres.	
5000 sh:	.	250 : 00 : 00
5000 sixp.	.	125 : 00 : 00

² Letter to Hughes, January 8, 1715-16, offering to recommend the masque of "Apollo and Daphne."

³ *Town-Talk*, No. 2.

The fifth number, which was published at sixpence, on the 13th January, and passed through five editions, contained a long letter to the Pretender, giving the text of his Declaration, with criticisms on his statements.¹ This was signed "R. S.," and was described by Addison as "an excellent answer" from "a celebrated Englishman."² It was at once followed by a folio sheet, sold at twopence, with the title, *The British Subject's Answer to the Pretender's Declaration. By Sir Richard Steele.*³

Addison's periodical, the *Freeholder*, was essentially a political paper, written on behalf of the Hanoverian dynasty. The first number appeared on the 23rd December, and it was published twice a week for six months. Addison had already been made Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, with a salary of £1000

¹ This called forth *A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S., concerning his Remarks on the Pretender's Declaration (Post-Boy, February 2, 1715-16), and A Vindication of Sir Richard Steele, against a pamphlet intituled, A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S., &c. (Evening Post, February 18, 1715-16; Daily Courant, February 20, 1716).* The "Letter," which reached a second edition, contained the usual abuse: how Steele owed his reputation to others, which, however, no one minded as long as his only aim was to get bread; how—and here the writer alludes to a coarse story in the first number—the lady to whom *Town-Talk* was addressed could not be very particular; how Steele's employments, with prudence, were worth about £2000 a year. It would, ordinarily, be treason to print the Pretender's Declaration, and people bought Steele's pamphlet merely that they might read the Declaration. "Whole loads, they say, are sent to Ireland." As for Steele wishing all the Pretender's friends in heaven, that could only mean that he wished them dead! Steele would find this to be the fact if he went home and took his "meek turtle" in his arms, and wished her this minute in heaven. "I guess it would cost you another Dedication to obtain pardon." Finally, this writer, who knew Steele's parentage and life, would expose Steele further if he did not cease this boasting of being "a gentleman born," and "the modestest man in England." According to a later critic, Steele's remarks on the Declaration led some people to think he had become a convert to the Pretender's interest, which was certainly not the impression he meant to convey (*The Censor Censured, or The Conscious Lovers Examined, 1723, p. 4*).

² *Freeholder*, No. 9. Steele's claim to the authorship of *Town-Talk* did not go undisputed. Lady Cowper notes in her Diary for February 1, 1716: "Mr. Horneck, who wrote 'The High German Doctor,' came here. . . . He told me that Sir Richard Steele had no hand in writing the *Town-Talk*, which was attributed to him; that it was one Dr. Mandeville and an apothecary of his acquaintance that wrote that paper; and that some passages were wrote on purpose to make believe it was Sir R. Steele."

³ Reprinted in Somers' Tracts, 2nd edit., xiii. 705. In this "Answer," which was advertised in No. 7 of *Town-Talk*, the Declaration was divided into sections, which were answered one by one in the opposite column.

a year,¹ so that that appointment was not directly a reward for this service. The *Freeholder* contains excellent arguments, and a great deal of humour in Addison's best style, including the character of the immortal Tory Fox-hunter. But some of the discourses are of rather an academic nature, and there are so many references and appeals to the fair sex, that we can understand how Steele might think, as it is reported that he said, that the Government had made choice of a flute when they ought to have taken a trumpet. In *Town-Talk*² Steele spoke of Addison's paper as very entertaining, honest, and instructive, and compared it to "a man of sense in a multitude, whose appearance among them suppresses their noise, and gains him an authority to be heard with attention for their common service." Yet when No. 25 of the *Freeholder* appeared in March, Steele felt impelled to publish a reply, and he wrote a draft of some five and a half folio pages, with many alterations, of what was intended to be the first number of a new periodical.³ The proposed paper seems, however, never to have been printed, and we can only guess at its title from Steele's opening words: "I will make no other preamble to my Entrance into the World than (what might be understood by the Illustrious monosyllable at the Head of my paper) that I appear in the cause of Liberty. I am called forth more immediately by a subtle destructive Paper called the *Freeholder*. I have read it often with as great approbation as any of its Readers, but the pleasure I have taken in the Wit and Judgement He has made appear in his Writings, is destroyed by some intimations now and then which I think have a pernicious tendency. If I did not beleive the Constitution of the Kingdome and Freedome of the Subject highly concerned in what this Author very dextrously advances I should not, as I do now, take upon me to write against Him. The Paper which has given me most offence and scandal is that of

¹ *Weekly Packet*, December 17-24, 1715; and *Weekly Remarks* (Heathcote's), December 31, 1715, where Addison is sneered at on account of the talent he showed in writing panegyrics on King George and the Princess.

² Nos. 4, 7.

³ Blenheim MSS. The draft is written on the stout unglazed paper which was used for official purposes at that time. Some of the sheets have for watermark "G. R.," with a crown; others the Royal arms, with a crown.

Friday the 17th instant." Addison had written that foreigners said there was no nation in Europe so much given to change as the English. Thence he argued as to the danger of this instability of temper, especially in politics, and urged the need of a steady adherence to the happy Establishment now set up. Steele disputed the assertion that we are especially unstable. The sudden Peace was not owing to the fickleness of the people, but the falsehood of the ministers of Great Britain. Treachery, too, was the true cause of the backwardness of foreigners to treat with us. As to the story of the Prince of Condé, who used to ask the English Ambassador, upon the arrival of a Mail, "Who was Secretary of State in England by that Post?" Steele remarked that "Such Ministers as a French Prince would like, are impeached, disgraced, imprisoned and dismissed, and such as prefer England to all the rest of the World are employed in their Stead." He added, as regards the extract from Sallust about the fickleness of the wills of kings: "This is wholly between Salust and the Freeholder, and may rest till they meet;" and while agreeing with the just praise of the King, and the exhortation to the enemies of the Constitution to indulge themselves in one change more by falling in with the plan of government which they at present opposed, he remarked that he could not agree that the "one change more" should extend "to what we all fear his discourse aims at, the suspension of the Triennial Act." To the question of the Triennial Act we shall have to refer again shortly.

In January we have two letters, somewhat sad ones, and in February another referring to Steele's old friend, Mr. Fuller, of whom he afterwards wrote in the *Theatre*.

Jan. 10th, 1715-16.

DEAR PRUE

I have that in my Pockett which within a few days will be a great sum of money, besides what is growing at the Play-House.¹ I prefer your ease to all things. I begg of you to send for Coals and all things necessary for this Week, and Keep Us only to the end of it out of y^r Abundance, and I shall ever add to it hereafter

¹ Then worth to him about a thousand pounds a year.

instead of attempting to diminish it. I cannot indeed get money immediately without appearing most scandalously indigent which I would avoid for the future.

Ever Y^{rs},

RICHARD STEELE.

Jan. 11th, 1715-16,
BALDWINS, EAST-STREET,
NEAR RED-LYON-SQUARE.

DEAR PRUE

I am here very busie and shall be all night. Pray send Me a Book which is upon the Scruttore, in the Dining Room. It is an History of Ireland¹ and many Leaves of it turned down, and papers in it. It is a sad thing I must take such pains but you are to be the better for it, which is the main Comfort to

Y^{rs} Ever

RICHARD STEELE.

Feb. 14th, 1715-6.
CHELSEA, Monday.

DEAR PRUE

Mr. Fuller and I came hither to dine in the Air. But the maid has been so slow that We are benighted, and chuse to lye Here rather than go this Road in the dark. I lie at [our]² own house, and my Freind at a relations in the Town.

I desire Wilmot may come in the morning with my Linnen.

Y^r Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

One other note, which is undated, may be given here. It represents, in brief, the heart of the writer, whatever might be the troubles which surrounded him.

DEAREST PRUE

This is only to ask how you do.

I am

Y^r-Betty-Dick-Eugene Mollys

Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.³

Steele had some correspondence in February with Sir John Stanley, secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, about entertaining

¹ This he wanted in compiling his Letter to the Pretender, in the fifth number of *Town-Talk* [Nichols].

² The MS. reads "at at own house."

³ This note is written in pencil.

actors from the other house.¹ There had been an unfounded report, some months before, that Steele was to succeed Sir John Stanley as secretary.² This was Sir John's letter:—

COCKPIT, 6th Feb. 171⁵.

S^R

My Lord Chamberlain has directed me to signify his ma^{ties} pleasure, that you are not to entertain any person in the theatre in Drury Lane who has performed, or been entertained in the opera since May last.

I am, S^r
Y^r most faithfull
humble servant

S^r R. Steele.

J. STANLEY.

We have only the draft of Steele's reply.

Feb. 10th, 171⁵,
S^{NT} JAMES'S STREET.

S^R

I delayed the acknowledgement of Yours of the 6th instant till I had examined what grounds there were for such a signification as I had the Honour to receive from You.

I cannot find that there has been any application made to gain any body from the Opera, and do not doubt but I shall receive as much favour as the other Patent, against w^{ch} you know, My Lord Chamberlain denyed to protect the Late License, and sent me to the Lawyers. I speake this with all Humility, tho at the same time, I lay in my Claim to endeavour at pleasing the King, within the Powers He has given me, by representations of all Kinds as the Fashion, or Genius of the times, with regard to the true interest of the publick, shall present me with Opportunity.

I am, S^r
Y^r Most obedient and
Most Humble Ser^{nt}.

Colley Cibber has apologised, in his fifteenth chapter, for the compliance at this time at Drury Lane with "the vulgar taste"

¹ Blenheim MSS.

² "S^r John Stanely is putt out from being my L^d Chamberlains Secretary, & is succeeded by S^r R. Steel" (Letter from James Greenshields to Dr. Charlett, July 16, 1715; Ballard MSS., Bodleian, vol. 36, f. 98).

for pantomimes, to which they were driven by the action of the other house.

The noblemen who had taken part in the rebellion were impeached in January, and on the 9th February the Lord Chancellor passed sentence of death upon the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, Lord Nairn, Viscount Kenmure, and the Earls of Nithsdale and Carnwath. Every effort was made by their friends to obtain a reprieve, and in the end only Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed. Steele, who, as usual, was willing to show all mercy to those who had fallen, though during the rebellion he had taken a most active part against them, was among the members who, on the 22nd February, presented petitions brought by the wives of the condemned lords and other ladies; and he made a long speech on the subject, which was seconded by his friend Mr. Fuller, member for Petersfield, and supported by other Whigs. Walpole and the leaders of the party were unrelenting, but so many members dissented, that it was only by seven votes that Walpole carried a motion that the House should adjourn until the 1st March, by which date it was expected the prisoners would be executed. Next day Steele and others who had differed from Walpole were attacked by the *St. James's Post*, which insinuated that members who presented petitions had been bribed. On the 6th March, Steele, who had been spoken of as Cavaliero Risko Chalybeski, replied in a pamphlet called *A Letter to a Member*,—Spencer Compton, the Speaker—*Concerning the Condemned Lords*, “in vindication of gentlemen calumniated in the *St. James's Post* of Friday, March the 2d.”¹ He gave up, he said, the condemned persons as authors and leaders of the rebellion, and considered them only as leaders of the submission; if he had acted otherwise than he had, he would have felt the secret reproach that, for fear of being mistaken by the powerful, he had neglected his duty to the miserable. As for statements that he was a “writer at low ebb,” and the like, “it is not for me to say how I write, or speak; but it is for me to say I do both honestly.” And then he continued, in words already quoted: “Wit and humour are the dress and ornament

¹ *Postman*, March 6, 1715-16.

of the mind ; but honesty and truth are the soul itself, and the difference in a man's care of his reputation for one and the other is just in the proportion that being robbed bears to being murdered." After hinting that Walpole had inspired the attack upon him, the tract concludes : " I never talked of mercy and clemency but for the sake of my King and country, in whose behalf I dare to say, that to be afraid to forgive is as low as to be afraid to punish ; and that all noble geniuses in the art of government have less owed their safety to punishment and terror, than grace and magnanimity."

The ninth and last number of *Town-Talk* appeared on Monday, February 13, though at the end of that number it was announced that the paper would for the future be published every Wednesday, after the next ensuing. Saturday and Friday had already been tried as publishing days. On the 21st January a new weekly paper had been commenced, called *The Protestant Packet* ; it contained an article headed " Home News and Town Talk," and Nichols, who had seen three numbers, says that Steele was doubtless an assistant. On the 2nd February a pamphlet called *The Tea Table*, No. 1, was published ; it was to appear fortnightly, price 3d. Three numbers were advertised, and the first number reached a second edition.¹ This paper, too, is attributed to Steele, but no copies appear now to be known. We have better means of judging when we come to *Chit-Chat*, which was advertised on the 6th March : " Chit-Chat, instead of Town-Talk, addressed to the same Lady in the Country, and concluding with an Argument concerning the Executed Lords, No. 1, price 3d." The second number of this paper, by " Humphrey Philroye," was published on Saturday, March 10, and the third on Friday, March 16, with the announcement " to be published every Friday."² Nichols could not discover any copies of this paper, but Nos. II. and III. are now in the Hope collection at the Bodleian, and as these papers have not been hitherto described, I shall give some extracts.

¹ *Daily Courant*, February 6, 1716 ; *St. James's Post*, February 6, February 10, March 2, 1715-16.

² *Postman*, March 10 ; *St. James's Post*, March 16, 1715-16. There is mention of a Chit-Chat Club in the *Spectator*, No. 560, by Addison. There is a note among the Blenheim papers, which, from the signature, may have been

No. II. was headed "Chit-Chit. In a Letter to a Lady in the Country. Wherein is continued the Argument concerning Saving or Executing the Rebels." It will be observed that these papers profess to be written by some one who does not agree with Steele's views as to the condemned lords. "I left you in my last attending to Mr. Johnson's¹ reasons for having justice done on the sentenced Lords. The severest treatment of the parricides is become necessary from the behaviour of their advocates and friends. A false, sophistical and scandalous pamphlet is come out, wherein they tell the Ministry that rigour shown to the prisoners is to exasperate the bulk of the nation. Though I am of a most merciful disposition, I think that the dignity of the offended requires some sacrifice to the offence. It is a criminal partiality to make examples of the meaner sort, whilst you let the nobler and richer escape." "I am now settled in my old way of living, and have time to return you my warmest thanks for the best company and entertainment in the world; both which I have enjoyed over again every day since I left you, not being able to deny the account which I gave Mr. Johnson of my rural fortnight." Then come remarks about the chance of war or peace with France: "The Pretender we soon expect to hear to be lodged in a monastery." "I shall alter my style to your Ladyship for the most part hereafter, and not offend you with politics. I send you herewith a paper in honour of Sir Richard Steele, wherein there appears a great gaiety of spirit, and facility of wit; the author endeavouring to intended for *Chit-Chat*. It is addressed "To the Honoured Sr Richard Steele K^t, in London These most humbly present."

"WORTHY S^r

In token of my great esteem of y^r excellent merits, I send you a Specimen of my zeal of y^o good governm^t of K. George, &c. hoping it may prove acceptable to you and all other good patriots

I am

Y^r most humble serv^t & Admirer

TIM: PHILOROY."

¹ Presumably an allusion to Charles Johnson's farce, "The Cobler of Preston," first acted on the 3rd February 1716. Bullock's "Cobler of Preston" had been brought out at Lincoln's Inn Fields on January 24. Both pieces were founded on the introduction to the "Taming of the Shrew." Johnson's play contained several allusions to the Pretender, besides the political prologue. It was printed on the 10th February, and on the 16th there was a second edition (*Daily Courant*).

appear not to have studied much or laboured at any part of it. He tells you that he was 21 six years ago: the first part of his pamphlet seems fitted for that age, and the latter may not be very improper for 27."

No. III. of *Chit-Chat* had for sub-title, "Wherein some observations are made of the present treatment of Sir Richard Steele." After a love-story of Virginius and Amanda, the writer proceeds: "The panegyric, Madam, which I sent you, upon Sir Richard Steele, is generally liked here, for the life that appears in it; and Sir Richard's friends pay it a particular regard, because it comes out at a time wherein people generally esteem that gentleman to be out of favour with our great men. There is some seeming dissonancy, indeed, in the performance; but I suppose Captain Sprightly is a man of good literature, as well as gaiety and wit, and do therefore allow for the transition from the levity of the soldier and lover to the wisdom and gravity of the philosopher and divine. He has ravished us all with the prospect of a Sensorium, and taken off, in a great measure, the odium which some of Sir Richard's good friends contributed, amongst others, to heap upon him, of being an empty projector alone: for, from the hints that he has given us, we are all contriving, as well as the knight, and forming subjects and decorations for that little theatre, which may be incorporated, for aught I know, at least, and the masters and members be allowed to meet in habits, suitably distinguished, for the honour of men set apart to improve those noble arts of eloquence, poetry and music." The writer of this panegyric discourages the practice, resorted to by enemies and by some friends, of engendering divisions in the ministry. The Tories invent and receive with delight the most ridiculous stories of party-quarrels; among others, "that Sir Richard Steele is gone over to their party, because he acted on the merciful side in relation to the sentenced lords; and, what is worse, some of his pretended friends add, that he has been bribed so to do; in both which he has acquitted himself in a pamphlet which he has published on that occasion, and which I shall mention by and by: but nothing is more villainous and unfair than the ill usage which that gentleman has met with

in the St James's Post of the 2nd of this month; where, under a feigned name, and in a scene laid as distant as Poland, he has met from an Englishman, and a Whig (as I guess from the public paper that is made use of) worse treatment than the rudest Polander, or most revengeful Turk, ever shewed to an enemy; nay, worse than my Lord Oxford, or F[ol]ey, pretended to, in the bitterest part of their private or public resentment, in the last reign." It is to be regretted that the attack, composed of spite without wit, "is the work of a Whig, which were better done by some bigotted, angered, disappointed, gallows-dreading Highlander, now in Newgate." The hired scribblers are no more than common bravados, who stab and murder at a price, in the dark; the pen in their hand, compared to Sir Richard's, is like the sword in those villains', compared to a man of real fortitude and true generosity, who draws in a laudable and good cause." There is not a man that calls himself a Whig, that is not indebted to Steele, who was ever a friend to the royal family, and loyal to his country. "What the House of Commons will do upon his remonstrance, I know not; . . . I am a stranger, also, how cognizable an abuse is in the language of the law, when dealt under fictitious names;" but the author ought not to escape with impunity by stabbing with a mask on. "The supposed ground of this vile treatment I have told you; it is Sir Richard's consenting to a debate in the House, and seconding a motion to that end, that the sentenced lords might have mercy shewn them, because they submitted to it. I must tell you plainly that I differ from that gentleman in this argument;" for this was not a voluntary submission, upon any terms, but an involuntary surrender, after a bloody defence, when they would have been all put to the sword if they had not done what they did. But "if members of Parliament cannot pursue the dictates of their conscience, nor be allowed free reasoning within doors, without being stigmatized and abused without, men won't be fond of the discharge of that duty, and this noble part of the Legislature come, at least, into great contempt. Sir Richard Steele has ever acted an uniform, sometimes a dangerous part." Those persons are very servile, and know little of the blessings of freedom, who bind them-

selves necessarily to vote with their leaders, and do not dissent sometimes in opinion from their best friends. "Indeed, Madam, he's very ill used, and I am sure he thinks so; for he has stepped out of himself in his *Vindication*,¹ and exposed his adversary after a powerful manner. I know not in the least where he directs his point, and therefore enjoy but half the pleasure that others do in reading his answer. But this I can say of the performance, that I never read a finer piece of satire in my life; his head was clear, and his heart was full when he wrote it; he was perfect master of himself and his adversary. . . . I could add much, Madam, in Sir Richard's favour, from his natural tendency to compassion and lenity; but am obliged by a late hour, and a great fatigue of business, to beg your excuse now." So ends the last number of this periodical, which I have described at length not only because of its rarity and the interest of its contents, but because I must venture to express a doubt whether it is rightly attributed to Steele. It is difficult to believe that Steele would apply to himself the compliments made him by the author; and that author, whoever he was, appears to have really differed entirely from Steele as regards the question of the fate of the condemned Lords. What he says, and the arguments he adduces, seem too genuine to be explained by the theory that Steele was designedly writing in the guise of an impartial spectator. The chief, and, indeed, only reason for attributing the paper to Steele is the fact that it was announced as appearing "instead of *Town-Talk*." It is on this account, apparently, that previous writers, none of whom seem to have read the periodical, have assumed Steele to be the author; but the announcement does not prove that the two periodicals were written by the same hand. The matter is not free from doubt; but the extracts here printed will enable the reader to judge for himself.

Addison's comedy of *The Drummer* was acted on the 10th March, and published on the 21st by Steele,² who stated in the

¹ This refers to a pamphlet advertised in the *Daily Courant* for February 20, as published that day—"A Vindication of Sir Richard Steele, against a pamphlet entitled, A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S., concerning his Remarks on the Pretender's Declaration, &c. Price 4d." J. Roberts, London. It will be observed that the writer of *Chit-Chat* assumes that Steele himself wrote this *Vindication*.

² *Daily Courant*.

Preface that the play had been some years in the hands of the author, who was persuaded by him to make some additions and alterations in it, and let it appear on the stage. Steele said he liked it the better for the want of the studied similes and re-partees usually found in plays. The reader would, doubtless, see beauties which escaped the audience, for the touches were too delicate for every taste in a popular assembly. "My brother Sharers"—Wilks, Cibber, and Booth—"were of opinion, at the first reading of it, that it was like a picture in which the strokes were not strong enough to appear at a distance." The approbation, at first doubtful, rose, however, every time the play was acted. "The Reader will consider that I speak here, not as the author, but as the patentee," and this rendered impossible extreme praise, which would look like a man crying up his own wares. Steele had spoken of the play before it was acted, in the last number of *Town-Talk*, as a comedy "written with wit, humour, good sense, good breeding, and knowledge of the world." It had, he said, been delivered to him by the author under the seal of secrecy. "The whole is like a tale told by a well-bred gentleman, who pleases you in every part of it, but neglects to make you laugh in any. I should rather say that, as ridiculous as many parts of this play are, they are ridiculous only to polite people." This is excellent criticism; Addison's style was too refined to suit the needs of an ordinary audience; he had little dramatic power, and he had no practical knowledge of the requirements of a theatre.

Under the Triennial Act of 1694, Parliament would have been dissolved at the end of the year, and an election held early in 1717; but the Government, fearing the influence of the Jacobites, and anticipating that riots would result from the heated party feeling in the country, proposed that the existing Parliament should continue for seven instead of three years. The alteration was to meet a temporary danger, and the ministers are, of course, liable to the charge that their action was merely one of self-preservation; but the Septennial Act has never been repealed, and on general grounds its introduction can be easily vindicated. The people had then little real voice in the election of their members, and the Septennial Act made

it possible for members to be much more independent than they had hitherto been of those through whose influence they had obtained their seats. The Bill for the repeal of the Triennial Act was first introduced into the House of Lords on the 10th April, and after passing that House it was sent to the House of Commons, where it was read a second time on the 24th April, the majority for the Government being 122. Steele spoke on this occasion on behalf of the Septennial Bill, though he had very recently, as we have seen, contemplated publishing an answer to Addison's *Freeholder*, in the course of which he deprecated the suspension of the Triennial Act. He seems at first to have viewed the alteration merely as a party measure—and that it was a party move, to a great extent, cannot be denied—and as such he disapproved of it, though it was expected to be beneficial to his own side. It seems, too, that it was at first proposed to suspend the Act for the one occasion only; but when the Government determined that the Bill should provide for an extended duration of Parliaments in general, Steele saw that the change would ultimately lead to greater independence in the House, and consequently to a growth of popular liberties, and then he supported the measure. He pointed out in his speech that the first year of a Triennial Parliament was spent in vindictive decisions and animosities about the late elections; in the second session business was entered into, but chiefly in a spirit of contradiction to what members of former Parliaments had done; the third session “languished in the pursuit of what little was intended to be done in the second;” and the approaching election terrified members into servilely acting as their principals directed. It was true that ministers sometimes used their power arbitrarily, but this they could do in any case, by sudden action; while good things are slow in their progress, and require time to carry out. “We may fear that the ministers may do us harm; but that is no reason why we should continue them under a disability of doing us good. For these considerations, I am unreservedly for the Bill.” Steele spoke again on the 26th April, when the third reading was carried by 143 votes.

There is nothing more to record until June, with the excep-

tion of the following letter to Mr. Gale, asking for a place for a friend, apparently, of some constituent at Boroughbridge: ¹—

May 4th, 1716,
S^T. JAMES'S STREET.

S^R

The Bearer Hereof Mr Steventon is a person recommended to me by my best Freinds in Yorkshire in order to Sollicit for Him the place of a Gager in the Excise. I have so frequently troubled Mr Townshend that I have not confidence to apply to Him for new favours till it has been my good fortune to obey some commands of His, but I dare say He would Join You where I am sollicitor. I earnestly beseech Your favour herein and am, S^r

Y^r Most Odedient &

Most Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

Mr Gale.

On the 7th June Commissioners were appointed "to enquire of the estates of certain traitors, and of popish recusants, and of estates given to superstitious uses, in order to raise money out of them for the use of the public."² The principal object was to appropriate the lands of the Scottish nobles and gentlemen who had taken part in the recent insurrection. Thirteen Commissioners were appointed, seven for England and six for Scotland; it was to be arranged among themselves which should go to Scotland, and if they differed the King was to decide.³ Four of the six Commissioners for Scotland were English members of Parliament, and among them was Steele. The first meeting at Edinburgh was on the 1st September, but Steele did not go to Scotland until the end of 1717. We shall hear frequently of the Commission during the ensuing five or six years.

¹ A copy of this letter was kindly obtained for me from a customer, whose name I do not know, by Messrs. Bickers & Sons, Leicester Square.

² Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii.

³ *Weekly Journal* (Read's), June 9, 1716.

IV.

INTEREST IN THE THEATRE MORTGAGED.

1716-17. ÆT. 44.

IN July Steele's troubles compelled him to take the serious step of mortgaging his interest in the Theatre to Edward Minshull, Esq., M.P. for Bramber, who had lent Steele money on several pressing occasions. It will be remembered that in Trinity term, 1713, Minshull was successful in an action which he brought against Steele to recover a debt of £250, that Minshull was one of the persons consulted in the preparation of the *Crisis* at the beginning of 1714, that in August of that year he lent Steele £50, and that in October Steele was indebted to him to the extent of £360.¹ The rest of the story is to be gathered from the pleadings in a Chancery suit, "*Steele v. Wilbraham*," of 1722, which are here given in a somewhat abridged form, but without material alteration.²

Steele's bill, after referring to the Letters Patent of the 14th January 1714-15, granted him by the King, and to the agreement then made by Steele with Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, proceeds to state that in or about 1713 Steele had contracted an acquaintance with Edward Minshull, Esq., of the parish of St. Martin-in-the Fields, who professed great friendship, and offered to help Steele to money to supply his then urgent occasions. The offer being accepted, Minshull became bound with Steele to one Cox for £500 or thereabouts, and to one Aston³ for £400 or thereabouts, and to some other persons, of whom he borrowed,

¹ Vol. i. page 392; vol. ii. pages 5, 36, 49, note.

² Chancery Proceedings, Zincke, 1714-58, No. 1424.

³ See p. 111 below.

as he pretended, money to lend Steele; and he lent Steele at several times some small sums, and about the 24th July 1716 he desired Steele to give him some security for the money he had lent to and stood engaged to pay for Steele, all which he then pretended to compute at £1500 and more; and particularly he desired that a security might be made to him of Steele's fifth part of the Letters Patent and of the clothes, scenes, &c., and of the profits of the Theatre in Drury Lane; and Steele having a good opinion of Minshull's integrity, and believing the account made out to be true, readily agreed to make such security, whereupon Minshull got and prepared an assignment of Steele's share to him, his executors and assigns, dated the said 24th July 1716, the consideration whereof was expressed to be the sum of £1500 as paid to Steele; but in truth there was not any sum then paid to Steele, nor were the debts for which Minshull was bound then paid, nor was any account then drawn out or settled between Steele and Minshull. And at the same time Minshull signed a defeasance to Steele, that upon payment of the £1500 and interest on a day then to come therein mentioned the said assignment should be void; and Steele thereupon directed Castleman, Treasurer of the Theatre, to pay his share to Minshull or his order. And there having been great dealings between Minshull and Charles Gery, Esq., of London, of whom Minshull had at times borrowed several sums on several securities, and Minshull proposing to assign over the security from Steele, Gery insisted that Steele should join in the assignment; but Minshull declared there was no occasion for it, and that Steele should make affidavit that he had no otherwise encumbered his share in the Theatre; and Gery being satisfied with this, Minshull told Steele that he was much pressed for the payment of the debts to Cox and Aston, and that he must raise money on Steele's assignment to discharge those debts, and that for that purpose the affidavit must be made, to which Steele consented. And some time afterwards, as Steele had been lately informed, Minshull assigned the security to Gery, but Steele could not discover what money was paid by Gery. And Minshull endorsed Steele's note to Castleman, and gave

it to Gery, who received several sums from Castleman. Minshull and Gery formed at that time a design to get Steele's share of the scenes, clothes, and profits; and Minshull undertook to purchase the same absolutely of Steele for £4000, which it was agreed between Minshull and Gery should be for their joint and equal benefit; but the £4000 was to be paid by Gery, and £2000 repaid by Minshull as he could raise the same out of his moiety of the profits; and this agreement was marked in the assignment made by Minshull to Gery, or in some other deed or writing between them. Minshull then often requested Steele to sell his share, but being unsuccessful he said he perceived Steele was often in straits for money, and that it would be proper for Steele to raise a considerable sum at once, and professed that he would advance a further sum of £2500 upon the security of the said premises, and allow Steele two years for the payment thereof. This Steele accepted, and Minshull being in daily expectation, as he pretended, of receiving £3000, or some such sum, directions were given by him to Mr. Ralph Wilbraham, his attorney, to draw up an assignment to him of Steele's share, which Wilbraham accordingly got drawn up and engrossed. It was dated on or about the 31st January 1716[-7], and was made absolute, Minshull undertaking to give Steele a defeasance thereof in payment of the said £4000 and interest within two years of the date thereof.

After this assignment was drawn and engrossed, Minshull and Wilbraham came to Steele, who was attending the service of his country in the House of Commons, and carried him to the Horn Tavern, in the Palace Yard, Westminster, and after the assignment was read over, Minshull desired to speak with Steele in another room, which he did, and then said that, being disappointed of money, he could not pay Steele any part of the said £2500, but would in a few days, and in the meantime would give a note for the £2500; and that for Steele's security the assignment should remain in Wilbraham's hands till the sum was paid, and that he (Minshull) would execute a proper defeasance to Steele. Steele, being ignorant of matters of law, spoke to Wilbraham, who assured him that he would receive no prejudice thereby, adding that he (Wilbraham) was obliged to take extraordinary care

that Steele should not suffer in regard Steele put so great confidence in him.¹ Steele was thus, at the earnest request of Minshull and Wilbraham, induced to sign the assignment of the 31st January 1716-17, and to sign a receipt endorsed on the back of the paper for the sum of £4000 as the consideration thereof; and Wilbraham was a witness that Steele executed this assignment and signed the receipt, well knowing that not one penny was advanced as the consideration thereof, and that the same was only to be security for the £1500 for which the former assignment was given, and the £2500 when the same should be paid to Steele, and for which Minshull then gave Steele a receipt to which Wilbraham was a witness; and Wilbraham assured Steele that this receipt would screen him from any prejudice by signing the receipt for £4000, and that if the £2500 were not paid to Steele, by virtue of the said receipt for £2500, Steele would be entitled to an allowance thereof out of the said £4000. By agreement between Steele and Minshull the assignment of the 31st January 1716-17 was then deposited in the hands of Wilbraham as a common trustee between them, until the £2500 should be paid to Steele and a proper defeasance executed by Minshull; and until that was done no use was to be made of the assignment, and then Steele's former assignment for £1500 was also to be delivered up to him. And Steele requiring some further memorandum from Wilbraham of such trust, Wilbraham wrote a short memorandum, acknowledging that he had received the indenture of the 31st January, purporting a sale from Steele to Minshull of the fifth part of the Letters Patent, scenes, clothes, &c., and profits in consideration of £4000, which Deed was deposited in his hands in order that in case Steele, his executors, &c., should redeem the same within two years, the same should be delivered

¹ The following memorandum, in Steele's writing, is among the Blenheim MSS.: "Whereas S^r R: S: has made a Sale of His income and interest in a Patent of the" . . . (some words illegible) "an absolute sale in Words yet it was never intended nor should be ever insisted upon as a sale in fact, but that when the money lent by M^r Minshull should be repaid to Him, the Instruments of Sale and all other deeds or securities should be rescinded and made void and ineffectual in what proper manner S^r Richard Steele should require either before or after the time limited in the said instruments."

up to be cancelled and destroyed; and this he promised to do, unless the Deed were lost by fire or other unavoidable accident.

Wilbraham and Minshull witnessed this memorandum by affixing their signatures; and Steele depended upon Minshull's Note, and Wilbraham's memorandum, and Wilbraham's privity to and knowledge of the whole affair, and the Deed being kept by Wilbraham, so that there should be no prejudice to Steele, and that the £2500 would have been paid, and the former assignment delivered up; and he therefore then delivered his counterpart and defeasance thereof to Minshull. And Minshull, or Gery as his order, continued by virtue of the first assignment of July 1716 to receive Steele's fifth part of the profits; but Minshull never paid Steele the £2500, to the very great disappointment of Steele, who, depending upon the same, for want thereof was reduced to great straits, and therefore desired Minshull would supply him with some part of it, which Minshull agreed to do if Steele would consent that the agreement in Wilbraham's hands should remain as security for such further sums as Minshull should advance to Steele beyond the £1500 for which the first security was given. Steele consented, being desirous that whatever money was really advanced to him should be repaid with interest; and thereupon Minshull supplied Steele with several sums and paid several sums for Steele; and Gery received out of Steele's share of the profits £2398. 16s. 10d., or some such sum; and Steele's share was received by Minshull, or his order, Gery, for the years 1716 and 1717, to the amount of £1418. And Steele having paid to Minshull by one Mr. Paterson £400, desired Minshull, on or about the 22nd October, to state accounts with him, which Minshull did, and notwithstanding the debt of Aston was included in the first security for £1500, yet Minshull charged Steele with the sum of £47. 8s. for the costs thereof, and also with several sums over and above the £1500, the total of one account amounting to £768. 19s. 9d., and the total of the other to £712. 15s. 10d., so that on the whole Minshull charged Steele as debtor for £3029. 3s. 7d., and at the same time gave Steele credit for £1418 received of Castleman and £400 received of Paterson, whereby there was a balance of £1211. 3s. 7d. due from Steele to Minshull,

as will appear by the said account signed by Minshull and Steele; and Gery was privy to the stating of this account, and continued by virtue of Steele's note endorsed by Minshull to receive Steele's share of the profits until the 24th January 1718-19, and received thereby £348. There remained then due to Minshull for principal and interest only £886. 16s. 6d. or thereabouts, but Steele tendered to Minshull £900, and demanded the assignment for £4000, and also the assignment for £1500, which Minshull pretended he had long before redeemed, and often promised to deliver to Steele, and had received back the defeasance and counterpart from Steele, and also Steele's note to Castleman. Minshull sent to Wilbraham's house for the said assignment, but Wilbraham being out of town or from home, Minshull desired the matter might be put off to another opportunity, and that in the meantime he might continue to receive the profits belonging to Steele, the same to be afterwards deducted out of the said £886. 16s. 6d. To this Steele agreed; and on the 4th February 1718-19 paid Minshull the further sum of £300. And afterwards, on or about the 26th November 1719, Gery, by virtue of Steele's note, received the further sum of £238; but Minshull had in the meantime paid to and for Steele some other sums, so that, by an account stated between them on the 11th December 1719, there remained due from Steele to Minshull £596. 2s. 9d.; and thereupon Minshull by a writing under his hand dated the said 11th December declared that Steele before the expiration of two years from the 31st January 1716-17 tendered to him full satisfaction for the consideration money mentioned to be advanced to Steele by the said deed of sale, but that he, Minshull, could not then come at the deed by reason of Wilbraham not being at home when he sent for it, and therefore he desired Wilbraham by this writing to deliver up to Steele or his order the deed dated 31st January 1716-17 on payment of the sum of £596. 2s. 9d., as being then all the money due to Minshull from Steele, and for his so doing this writing should be a sufficient warrant. And Steele sent this writing to Wilbraham, offering to pay the £596. 2s. 9d., and well hoped the deed would have been delivered up to him, and that the other

assignment of the 24th July 1716 and the order to Castleman would have been delivered up by Minshull.

But now Minshull, Wilbraham, and Gery, combining together, and with — Woolley, Esq., of the county of Derby, and with others as yet unknown, to defraud Steele of his share in the Theatre, Wilbraham utterly refused to deliver up the deed or assignment of the 31st January 1716-17, but threatened to deliver it to Gery, with whom he entered into an agreement for that purpose; and Gery insisted that there was due to him from Steele £2500 or some such great sum, and that Steele's fifth share ought to be charged therewith; and to cover these unjust proceedings he pretended he advanced £1500 to Minshull upon Minshull assigning over to him Steele's security of the 24th July 1716, and that on the 31st January 1716-17 he advanced to Minshull the further sum of £2500, and that Minshull paid the same to Steele; and that by a deed poll dated on or about the 31st January 1716-17 Minshull declared that the £4000 mentioned to be the consideration money of the said deed of sale of that date was the proper money of Gery, Minshull's name being used only in trust for Gery; and by means of this pretended deed poll of trust Minshull and Gery endeavoured to charge Steele with the whole £4000, although for £1500, part thereof, they or one of them had a former assignment, which was never delivered up, and no part of the residue, £2500, was paid until long after, and then only some part thereof in small sums, and, as Steele had reason to believe, raised out of the very share of the profits belonging to him; and in truth no such sum of £2500 was advanced by Gery at that time upon the said security, nor was the said declaration of trust executed till long afterwards, when there were various accounts between Minshull and Gery, and Gery was apprehensive that he should lose money by Minshull; nor did Gery till lately inform Steele of the said declaration of trust, and Steele apprehended he had nothing to do with any person but Minshull, as Minshull often informed him; and he looked upon Gery only as the order of Minshull, and accountable to Minshull for what he received, nor did Gery ever oppose or forbid Steele paying money to Minshull. And if any such trust were fairly declared for Gery, yet

he ought only to stand in the place of Minshull as to what was due to Minshull on the 31st January 1716-17, and which he long since received with interest and a great overplus; and Wilbraham, in whose custody the assignment for £400 was left, ought to have acquainted Gery that no part of the £4000 was advanced except the £1500 secured by Steele for the assignment; or at least Gery would have received such information if he had inquired of Wilbraham or Steele. And at other times Gery pretended he had assigned his interest in the premises to Woolley, and would not concern himself about the same, although he well knew that since the 11th December 1719 he had received of Castleman at several times the further sum of £394, so that upon a fair account there now remained due from Steele to Minshull or his order only about £220, which sum Steele was willing to pay to Minshull or Gery or Woolley, as the Court should ordain, upon the cancelling of the several securities entered into by Steele to Minshull. But Minshull, Gery, and Woolley most unreasonably insisted upon charging Steele with the whole £4000 and interest from the 31st January 1716-17, and nevertheless refused to discover when or how this £4000 was advanced or paid by Gery to Minshull, or what they knew or had been informed, or what interest Woolley had therein. All which being contrary to equity, Steele prayed that writs of subpœna might be directed to Minshull, Gery, Wilbraham, and Woolley, commanding them to answer the matters contained in this Bill.

Wilbraham's answer, dated 16th March 1721[-2], is the only one existing. It states that some short time before the 31st January 1716-17 Minshull gave Wilbraham directions for preparing such assignment or sale from Steele to Minshull of Steele's fifth part in the Theatre, as was mentioned in Steele's Bill, and two parts of such assignment were engrossed, leaving a blank for the consideration money; and Wilbraham said that to the best of his remembrance he carried the engrossments to Steele's then house in St. James's Street, and not to the Horn Tavern; and Wilbraham read over the assignment, and then Steele and Minshull retired to another room as he apprehended to converse together upon the subject-matter of the assignment.

When they returned, a proposal was made by one or both of them, that inasmuch as the assignment was drawn absolute and without any clause of redemption, and yet it was intended to be redeemable and to be only in the nature of a mortgage, the assignment, when executed by Steele, should be deposited in Wilbraham's hands as a common trustee, and that he should give to Minshull a note that the deed was in his custody, and that he would deliver it up to Steele upon Steele's redeeming the same within two years' time from the date of the deed. Steele particularly asked Wilbraham whether, in case the deed was deposited in his hands, the note would be sufficient to make the deed a mortgage, and Wilbraham said that it would, if the note were attested and witnessed by Minshull. Steele then acquiesced in the proposal, and did not in Wilbraham's hearing require any other defeasance of the deed; and Wilbraham was ordered to fill up the blank, and make the consideration £4000. The engrossed copies were then signed, and Steele gave a receipt for £4000, which was endorsed on the deed executed by Steele, and Wilbraham added his signature as witness. The deed was then handed to Wilbraham, who gave a receipt—as mentioned in Steele's Bill—which was attested by Minshull. Wilbraham was of opinion that Steele, like himself, then believed Minshull to be a man of substance. Wilbraham did not remember to have seen any money paid by Minshull to Steele, but believed Minshull gave Steele a note or receipt for £2500, for which sum Minshull promised to be accountable to Steele, and Wilbraham believed he added his signature as witness. Wilbraham denied that he assured Steele that this note or receipt would effectually secure him from any prejudice which might arise to him by his signing the receipt for £4000, or that he told Steele that if the £2500 were not paid him he would, by virtue of the said note or receipt for £2500, be entitled to an allowance thereof out of the £4000, or that Steele asked him any question relating thereto. He also denied that the deed was placed in his hands as a common trustee until the £2500 should be paid to Steele and a proper defeasance executed, or that until the same was done no use was to be made of the deed, or that then Steele's former assignment for £1500 was to be delivered

up to Steele; and he also denied that the deed was given to him upon any other terms than those set forth in the note which he gave; nor did he use any persuasion to induce Steele or Minshull to entrust the deed to him, or to induce Steele to sign the deed or the receipt thereon endorsed, or to accept Minshull's note or receipt for £2500; nor was he any way privy to or acquainted with the reasons which induced Steele to do the same, save that he knew the £1500 was or was mentioned to be the consideration of a former deed of sale of Steele's fifth share, dated about 24th July 1716. And Wilbraham had heard that Gery had, before the 31st January 1716-17, advanced £1500 to Minshull upon the credit of Steele's first assignment, and that Minshull had assigned over to Gery Steele's first assignment as security; but he did not then apprehend that Gery had advanced to Minshull, or was to advance, £2500, and therefore he understood himself to be only a trustee as between Steele and Minshull. But some time afterwards Minshull and Gery came to Wilbraham and told him that Gery had advanced a further sum of £2500, and that the whole £4000 was therefore, in truth, Gery's money. Wilbraham then drew up a declaration of trust to that effect, dated 31st January 1716[-7], which was duly executed by Minshull in the presence of one Mr. William Aspin and Wilbraham, witnesses. But Wilbraham admitted that this deed was not executed on the 31st January 1716[-7], as dated, but some time afterwards, though he could not remember the particular time. After the execution of this last deed Wilbraham considered himself as a common trustee between Steele and Gery. After all this, when, as Wilbraham believed, Minshull had failed in answering Steele's draughts of money upon him, Steele sent to Wilbraham and offered him thirty guineas to deliver up the deed of assignment of 31st January 1716-17, and said Minshull was consenting thereto; but Wilbraham answered that Minshull's consent would not indemnify him for so doing, because he knew that the money intended to be secured by the assignment was not then Minshull's but Gery's, and that he must have Gery's consent; he therefore refused to deliver up the deed. And he believed Minshull sent to him when he was not at home, as narrated in Steele's Bill; and he from time to time

acquainted Gery with the proceedings of Steele and Minshull; but he denied that he had threatened to give the deed to Gery, or had entered into any engagement with Gery for that purpose. The deed was still in his hands or power. He was never taken into council by Steele and Minshull, except that he paid, subsequently to the assignment of the 31st January 1716-17, £70 to Hugh Reason, Esq.,¹ for Steele by order of, and with the money of, Minshull, and had also seen several notes which Steele drew on Minshull, which he believed were paid by Minshull.

There is no record of this case having ever come before the Court, and there are no answers to Steele's Bill from Minshull, Gery, or Woolley; we must therefore assume that some compromise was arrived at. At any rate, as we shall see, Steele made an assignment to Woolley in June 1723, for the better security of £900 which Steele then owed Woolley, to whom Gery had assigned the deed of the 31st January 1716-17. But these complicated proceedings, which it seemed desirable to describe in the connected form in which they were originally recorded, have led us considerably out of the chronological order, and we must now return to the summer of 1716. Of Mr. Minshull it is enough to say that in 1719 he was the principal defendant in a Chancery suit instituted by Roger Brecknocke, of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, in consequence of some gaming to which they had been parties on December 27, 1718, at the Garter Coffee-House, Charing Cross. Brecknocke said that he lost some £37 at pharo, and that as this gaming was con-

¹ The following list of persons to whom, apparently, money was owing, is among the Blenheim papers:—

Mr Minshull	1211 : 00 : 00
Mr Arne	190 : 00 : 00
Mr Gilbert	50 : 00 : 00
Mr Henley	40 : 00 : 00
Mr Man	350 : 00 : 00
Mr Barker	130 : 00 : 00
Mr Reason	250 : 00 : 00
Domesticks	100 : 00 : 00

2221 : 00 : 00

Tishmaker 112 : 00 : 00

trary to the statute made in 9 Anne for preventing excessive and deceitful gaming, and as there were no witnesses, he brought this suit to recover the money.¹ Three years later, in 1722, Minshull was tried at the Court of King's Bench for defrauding a Mr. Keate, goldsmith, of bank bills to the value of £350, and was found guilty; but he managed to escape to Holland.²

¹ Chancery Pleadings, Mitford, 1714-58, No. 2165.

² *Mist's Weekly Journal*, February 17 and March 10, 1722.

V.

LADY STEELE IN WALES.

1716-17. *ÆT.* 44-5.

ADDISON was married to Charlotte, Dowager Countess of Warwick, on the 2nd August, 1716, and Holland House became his usual home. There is no evidence in favour of the tradition that the union was not a happy one, and there is a good deal to be said on the other side. At the time of Addison's marriage Lady Steele was arranging to go to Wales. She appears not to have actually started until November, but she remained away until the end of the following year. On the 9th August Steele sent her a travelling-case with instruments for eating and drinking, which might be of use on her journey; for, he said, "you may observe, in those excellent books which your polite cousin reads to you, that necessaries are often wanting to the heroes and heroines for the want of stowing their portmanteaus with proper materials." The "polite cousin" was probably Alexander Scurlock, son of John Scurlock, Lady Steele's uncle; but "politeness" appears to have been a family characteristic. The inscription to Jonathan Scurlock, Lady Steele's father, commences, "*Juxta conditæ sunt exuviæ viri ornatissimi, Jonathanis Scurlock, armigeri,*" and Mr. Rodman informs me that Mr. John Trevor Scurlock, the last of the family, was a type of politeness. The Welsh property probably stood in need of looking after. In one letter¹ to his "Dear Sister"—probably Elizabeth, wife of William Bevan, who was in London at the beginning of 1716, and who is frequently

¹ Blenheim MSS.

mentioned in Steele's letters—Alexander Scurlock says he had sent a bill to Lady Steele for £100 which he had got from her tenants. "A great many of Her Ldps Tenants are in arrears to Her, Especially M^r Newsham; this I suppose she knows very well, but wⁿ she is here I doubt not but she will get good Security. . . . Pray ask Lady Steele if she recd any money from Dr. Davies by the Hands of Cousⁿ Richard Philipps and How much she recd, M^r Hugh Lloyd is now Her tenant for w^t he had, He, I mean M^r Lloyd, having given 100 or 150^l for the lease which I am told is one of 99 years." There is also a letter, dated Carmarthen, February 4, 171⁵/₈, to "The Hon^{ble} the Lady Steele," from James Phillipps, presumably the James Phillipps, M.P., who married Lady Steele's aunt Jane,¹ in which the writer says: "I hope the inclosed to M^r Morgan Davies will have more influence over him, than that of y^r Ladyship's had over M^r R——(?): ffor the grist of y^r mill hath so puf'd up (this yesterday man) that he is haile fellow and a near Relation to O. B: I gave a hint in my last to S^r Richard, that as soon as Will: R——(?) rec^d y^r letter he went directly to O: B: with it. He talks very openly that as long as he payes his Rent his Landlord shall not influence him, but were I such, I would soon make him know the power one hath over the other. It will be some time before this matter comes to be decided for the Mayor is our ffriend, so y^r tenants shall have time to cool and think better of it, and as opportunity offers I will discourse them on the subject. My due respects attend S^r Richard and M^{rs} Bevan." A letter of Lady Steele to her uncle, George Lewis, about one of her tenants, may also be given here.²

S^r

The occasion of this is in behalf of one Joseph William, whose Cattle having unfortunately brooke into a parsell of Lands w^{ch} was Commons, & Granted to you he is (yⁿ know) unable to relive himself by Law. I think I may Expect from so nere a Relation w^t I wou'd do to oblige (almost) any acquaintance. Pray remember my poor Mother was always ready to Serve yⁿ in w^t yⁿ

¹ See pedigree, vol. i. p. 172.

² The draft of this letter, endorsed on the back by Lady Steele "Coppys of Letters To unkle George Lewis," is in Mrs. Wills' possession.

propos'd to her, tis an unkind return to be severe upon my Tennant but I hope y^a have ere this, or will upon receipt of these release y^e Mans Cattle, as tis a Charity to a poor Man as well as y^t it may oblidg one who may have it in power to return y^e oblidgation.

I am S^r y^r very humb Ser^{nt}

MARY STEELE.

Lady Steele went to Carmarthen in November, leaving her husband and children in London, and one of them, Mary, sickening for the smallpox. Steele was, too, at this time in the direst need. This was his first letter to his wife after her departure.

DEAR PRUE

Molly's distemper proves the Small Pox, which she has very favourably and a good kind. Mrs. Evans is very good and Nurse Jervase very diligent; Sarah has every good Quality and the whole family are in Health beside the dear infant.

I am very Close at my Papers not having been two hours out of the House since I parted with You. Pray take care of yourself. I Love You to distraction for I cannot be angry at any thing you do, let it be never so odd and unexpected to the Tenderest of Husbands.

RICHARD STEELE.

Saturday, Nov^{br} 17th, 1716.

We had not when you left us an Inch of Candle a pound of Coal or a bit of meat, in the House. But we do not want now.

R. S.

In this Michaelmas term, 1716, there were no less than eight actions for debt against Steele before the Courts.¹ In the first case John Cox, gentleman, came before the Barons of the Exchequer on the 23rd October and complained that Steele had, on the 6th January 1715,² in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Bow, acknowledged himself bound to him in the sum of £1100, but had not repaid it, to the damage of Cox of £200. As Steele had nothing wherewith to answer, judgment was given against him, with 56s. damages. From a document in the

¹ Exchequer Pleas Judgment Roll, Mich. 3 Geo. I. 12, 16, 18; Index Judic. (Exchequer), Series B, Mich. 3 Geo. I., fol. 64; Exchequer Pleas Order Book, Hil. 3 Geo. I., fol. 6; Common Pleas Judgment Roll, Mich. 3 Geo. I., 386; King's Bench Judgment Roll, Mich. 3 Geo. I., 304.

² See p. 56.

Record Office,¹ we learn that Steele, instead of paying Mr. Cox, pleaded his parliamentary privilege. How the matter ended does not appear; there seems to be no mention of the case in the Registers at the Privy Council Office.

Upon the humble petition of Sir Richard Steele, Knt., setting forth that John Cox, Gent., brought his action in debt for one thousand one hundred pounds in His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, and obtained judgment thereon against the Petitioner That the Petitioner, by bringing a Writ of Error, did remove the proceedings into the Council Chamber, but the said Writ of Error, for want of prosecution, was *non pros't*, and the Petitioner in no way relievable but by bringing a Writ of Error returnable in Parliament. He therefore prays His Majesty to bring and prosecute a Writ of Error accordingly.

Allowed in the usual manner.

14 Nov., 1717.

On the same day upon which Cox obtained a judgment, Job Bickerton, senior, complained that on the 1st September 1716, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, Steele had borrowed of him £50. 2s. 5d., which had not been repaid, by which Bickerton sustained damage of £10. Steele's attorney, James Foster, made no defence, and judgment was given for Bickerton, with 56s. 8d. damages. On the 18th November, Henry Steele put in his bill to the effect that on the 23rd May 1715, in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Bow, Sir Richard Steele gave him a promissory note for £100 for value received; but he had not been paid, and thereby sustained damage of £200. Steele, by his attorney, James Foster, appeared and said he was not advised to answer the complainant, and prayed for leave to impale until the Octave of St. Hilary next, which was granted. Accordingly, in the following term, the case again came up, and Steele made no defence. Judgment was therefore given for the complainant, and the sheriffs of London were commanded to make diligent inquiries as to the damages sustained. On the 11th February 1717 the sheriffs, Gerrard Conyer and

¹ Home Office Petitions, 1714-17, p. 474. Mr. Edward Minshull presented a petition at the same time as Steele, and in identical terms, so that it would appear that Cox lent £1100 to Minshull as well as to Steele.

Charles Cook, Knights; sent the Inquisition to the Guild-hall; the damage sustained by the complainant was assessed at £108. 11s. 4d., with 37s. 4d. for costs and charges. Judgment was accordingly given, on the 13th February, for the complainant, with £4. 12s. 8d. adjudged to him by the Court, so that the damages amounted altogether to £114. 11s. 4d.

The next action was brought by Elizabeth Taylor, widow, executrix of James Taylor, gent. On the 28th November she complained that Steele had borrowed £47 from her late husband, on the 4th August 1714, in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Bow, and had not repaid the money, by which she sustained £20 damages. As in the last case, leave was given Steele to impale until the Octaves of St. Hilary; but when the matter again came before the Court, he had nothing to say, and on the 19th February 1717 judgment was given for the complainant, with 56s. 8d. damages. Of another case, in which Robert Van Riell was the complainant, and the debt £60. 3s. 6d., we know only that judgment was given against Steele for the amount of the debt, and 56s. 8d. damages. Robert Aston was complainant in another suit; the amount of the debt is not stated, but Steele was given until the 29th January to show cause why judgment should not be pronounced, and as he showed no cause, judgment was signed on the 31st January.

The above were all actions in the Court of Exchequer; the next was heard in the Court of Common Pleas. Robert Frame complained that Richard Steele, late of Westminster, Knight, owed him on the 20th September 1714 £20. 19s. 6d. for his work and labour as a periwigmaker and barber, and for the materials necessary for such work, and for divers goods delivered to Steele; that, on the 21st September, Steele, in consideration that Frame had done more work for him, promised faithfully to pay the money; that, on the 23rd September, Steele compounded with Frame for divers sums of money owing, whereupon he was found to be in arrears in other £20. 19s. 6d.; that Steele gave a promissory note for £10 to Frame on the 3rd November 1715, at Westminster; and that

he had not repaid the money, though asked to do so on the 10th November 1715 and on several other occasions. The complainant therefore placed his damages at £39. Steele's attorney, John Boughton, said nothing in bar of judgment, and the Sheriffs, being commanded to inquire what damages Frame had sustained, sent their Inquisition to the Gatehouse, Westminster, on the 10th November, whereby it appeared that the damages amounted to £19. 7s., with 20s. costs. Judgment was therefore given against Steele for the said £20. 7s., and £9. 13s. was adjudged to Frame by the Court for his costs, making £30 in all.

There was one more action, and this was heard in the Court of Queen's Bench. In Hilary term, 1715, John Gilbert brought a bill against Steele, to the effect that on the 1st November 1714 Steele owed him, in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Bow, £60, and that on that day Steele compounded with him for divers other sums of money which he owed him, whereupon Steele was found to be in arrears towards Gilbert to the amount of £40, for which sum he gave a note promising to pay within thirty days after date; but he had not repaid any of the money, though specially requested to do so on the 24th January 1715, and on several other occasions. The case came before the Court on Tuesday next after the three weeks of Michaelmas, but Steele's attorney, Hugh Mills, had nothing to say, and the Sheriffs were ordered to make diligent inquiry as to the damages sustained by the complainant. By their Inquisition, returned to the Guildhall on the 8th January, it appeared that Gilbert had sustained £44. 16s. 10d. damages, with 26s. 8d. for costs and charges. On the 31st January 1717 judgment was accordingly given against Steele, and £9. 6s. 6d. was adjudged to Gilbert by the Court for interest, making £55. 7s. in all.

In the midst of these troubles Steele wrote again to his wife on the 20th November: "I am here under the double severity of your absence and Molly's sickness." But Molly's smallpox was accompanied by very favourable symptoms, and he was hoping to begin his journey to the North at an early date. Then came the following letters:—

DEAR PRUE

I hope this will find You safe at Carmarthen, and that You find all things easy there. There is nothing extraordinary has occurred here. Your Daughter Betty was very Well Yesterday. I made her be brought out as I rid by.

I have been much on horseback to prepare for my Journey for which I expect orders on Monday next out of Scotland. This is the ninth day with my Dear Molly in the Small pox: She has many in the Body, little in the Face. They are they say very Kindly. Nurse Jervase with Her duty recommends Her self to You for Her extraordinary care and diligence about Your Child. Mrs. Evans and Her Husband deserve very well of Us.

I am, with the tenderest Love,
Y^r Most Obedient Husband
& Most Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

My Most Humble Service to the Widow¹ and all the Family.

DEAR PRUE

I writ to my cousin Alexander this post and desired Him to excuse my not writing to You, but on second thoughts fearing you might be displeas'd, I send this, tho it has only to say that I am, With entire Love and Duty

Y^r Most Obedient Husband
& Hm Ser^t, RICHARD STEELE.

Nov^{br} 27th, 1716.

DEAR PRUE

I am extremely obliged to You for Your letter on the reverse of my Cousin's. Your indisposition is a very great greif to Me; I desire You to Use Brandy to Bath Your head, till You hear Dr. Garth's advice by next Post. Betty is very Well and Molly up and has this day taken Physick, which shall be continued as much as proper and at proper distances. I have a great Packet to answer from Scotland, of which You shall have a further account in my next.

I am, Devotedly Y^{rs} RICHARD STEELE.

No^{br} 29th 1716.

Steele had, in the previous year, dedicated to Dr. Garth, who had been made Sir Samuel Garth upon the accession of

¹ Mrs. Bevan, Lady Steele's cousin.

King George, the collected edition of the *Lover* and *Reader*, resolving, as he says, to send the *Lover* to "the best natured man." Garth now recommended, as Steele told his wife on the 6th December, washing the head with water and salt. On the 13th Steele talked of setting out for Scotland that day; on the 18th he was "making haste to Scotland."

MY DEAR PRUE

I have received Yours, with the enclosed bill for fifty pounds. I earnestly intreat You not to excruciate Your spirit with what you ought to overlook and despise. I will write to You at large on Thursday about all matters especially the method of my Journey.

I am, Dear Woman,

Intirely Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

Dec^{br} 11th, 1716,
S^{nt} JAMES'S STREET.

Dec^{br} 13th 1716.

MY DEAR PRUE

Mrs. Secretary Bevans has acquainted Me by the 7th instant that you are well, and very much my Freind and Servant. Mrs. Evans went to see Betty yesterday who, she says, is grown a very Fine Lady. Moll sate by Me a little as I was writing Yesterday, She will not be at all marked, but is a Dear Child. Eugene is grown a very lively Gentleman. After all this news, which takes in all the compasse of whatever you care for,¹ You will not much regard Politicks if I should write any. But it seems, my Lord Townshend is out, and Stanhope and Methuen the Two Secretaries for England, and Duke Roxborough made a Third Secretary for Scotland For which place I intend to sett out this day with an Opportunity of a Gentleman's Coach going down.

I am, Dear Prue, Y^r Most Affectionate
Obedient Languishing Relict

RICHARD STEELE.

The Machine is almost ready.

DEAR PRUE

Whether I Love You because You are the Mother of the Children or them because you are their Mother I Know not, but I am sure I am growing a very Covetous Creature for the sake of both

¹ By this expression it appears their eldest son Richard was now dead.

of You. I am making hast to Scotland[;] have only a small affair which I will acquaint You with in my next and am,

Intirely Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

Dec^{br} 18th, 1716.

“I long to be gone from hence,” he wrote on the 20th, and he added, by way of satire upon his wife’s carefulness: “Your man Sam owes me threepence, which must be deducted in the account between you and me; therefore pray take care to get it in, or stop it.” On the 22nd he sent Christmas wishes, and said he had arranged for an easy journey. On Christmas Day he sent the following charming letter. His eldest daughter had been left at school at Chelsea for the holidays, but he had been moved to have her home for the day.

Christmas-Day.

DEAR PRUE

I went the other day to see Betty at Chelsea who represented to Me in Her pretty language that she seemed helplesse, and Freindlesse without any body’s taking notice of Her at Christmas, when all the Children but she and two more were with their Relations. I have invited Her to dinner to day, with one of the Teachers, and they are here now in the room Betty and Moll very Noisy and Pleased together. Besse goes back again as soon as she has dined to Chelsea. I have stay’d in to get a very advantageous affair dispatched, for I assure you I Love money at present as well as y^r Lp and am Intirely Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

I told Betty I had writ to You and she Made me open My letter again and give Her Humble Duty to Her Mother, and desire to Know when she shall have the Honour to see Her in Town. She gives Her Love to Mrs. Bevans and all Her Cousins.

The next letter alludes to a new scheme for raising money, already referred to as “the machine” in the letter of the 13th December. This was the Fish Pool, the object of which was to bring fish alive to London. We shall hear of it frequently during the coming months.

DEAR PRUE

It is matter of gain, not matter of gallantry Keeps me here thus long. I hope within a post or two to give an account of a thing that will bring us a great sum of money.

All my endeavours and thoughts tend only to extricate my Condition, and have no debt but that to a good Wife and a few dear Innocents.

I am, Dear Prue, Eternally Thine

RICHARD STEELE.

The King leaves Hanover the 4th of Jan: our Stile.

Dec^{br} 28th, 1716,

S^T JAMES'S STREET.

On New Year's Day Steele said he had resolved to turn over a new leaf, and to lay up money for his children.

DEAR DEAR PRUE

I wish you from my soul an happy new Year, and many very different from what We have hitherto had. In order thereunto I have taken a resolution, which, by the blessing of God, I will steadfastly keep, to make my Children Partners with Me in all my future Gain, in the manner I have before described to You. That you may be convinced of this happy Change, You shall be Your self the Keeper of what I lay up for them by Quarterly portions from this day. I am, with the Tenderest affection,

Y^r Faithfull Husband & Most Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

Jan. 1, 1716-17,

S^T JAMES'S STREET.

Y^r Children are all very Well.

Two days later he wrote that Gillmore's work was just finished. Mr. Joseph Gillmore, mathematician, was Steele's ally in the Fish Pool scheme. When the order for the pay of the Commissioners was signed, said Steele, he should leave town, though but to go and come from Scotland. "You may be sure I mean to return by way of Carmarthen." A letter of the following day refers to his, or rather his wife's, cousins, Griffith and Jonathan. Griffith was going to the University, and Jonathan would be provided for in a short time. "You are utterly mistaken in your suspicion of my having borrowed of

my cousin ; there is indeed no such thing directly or indirectly." Then, after several notes written during press of business, came the following:—

DEAR PRUE

I have Yours on a leaf of the Widows. If you Knew how deeply it touches me you would not write in such a scornfull and unkind stile to Madam,

Y^r Most Affectionate Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

Jan. 17th 171^z.

On the 14th February Steele wrote to Morgan Davies—who became Mayor of Carmarthen not long afterwards¹—regretting that there was any occasion of dispute respecting accounts between him and Lady Steele. "I dare say she is as averse to contests as you can be, but I can make no further answer till I hear from her." From a letter written a week earlier to his wife, it appears that there was also a difficulty with Dick Philips. "It gives me great indignation to observe that you are forced to go to law for the balance of your account." On the 5th February there was another letter professing an intention to try to be prudent in all things; but this was followed on the 16th by a note: "Dear Prue, Sober or not, I am ever yours, Richard Steele."

DEAR PRUE

I write without having any thing new to say. I am going to be very easy, God be thanked, in my affairs, to throw off all hangers on, put my Debts in a regular Way of payment, which I cannot immediately discharge, and Try to behave my self with the utmost circumspection and prudence in all the duties of life especially of being, Dear Prue,

Y^r Most obliged Husband & ObedientHumble Ser^{mt}

RICHARD STEELE.

Feb. 5th, 171^z.

On the 2nd February, three days before this was written, judgment had been given in an action for debt brought by Robert Tod, executor of the will of Ambrose Jackson.² The

¹ Spurrell's *Carmarthen*, 176, 202-3, 206.

² Common Pleas Judgment Roll, Hilary 3 Geo. I., 307. *

results of several other actions, which were postponed to this Hilary term from the preceding term, have already been given. Robert Tod said that on the 9th December 1715 Steele was indebted to Ambrose Jackson, of Westminster, in the sum of £40 for divers goods sold to him. On the 2nd August 1716, after Jackson's death, Steele was asked to repay the money, but he refused to do so. Steele's attorney, William Leche, said that this narration was not sufficient in law, and the case was adjourned until the morrow of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. That is all we hear of this matter, but Tod brought another bill before the Court for a debt of £44, which sum, he said, Steele had borrowed from him on the 1st December 1716 at Westminster, and had never repaid. Steele's attorney, Leche, made no answer, and judgment was therefore given for Tod to recover his debt, with 50s. for damages.

The next letter is undated, but was evidently written early in February, in answer to a letter of complaint.

DEAR PRUE

I have yours, and, if I have ever offended you am heartily sorry for it and begg your pardon. As to the next circumstance the world is all alike every where, and I Know no occasion for expecting great freindship and disinterested conduct, but maintain a discreet and distant correspondence at the same time always ready to do what good one can to relations without thinking of what return they will make. I do, as you advise, court and Converse with men able and willing to Serve Me. But, after this you grow very pleasant and talk of 800'.¹ Please to shew me in your next how you make out such a demand upon Me and you shall have my Serious answer to it. Your words are the full 800 you owe Me. You advise Me to take care of my soul, I do not [know] what you can think of Yours when you have, and do withhold from me your Body. I observe what you say of Cousin Alexander and shall be glad of His Correspondence. I have not yet had any money as a Commissioner but shall next week and then will pay Betty's Schooling, &c.

Your Most Obedient Humble Husband & Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

¹ The MS. clearly says 800', but the sum named in what appears to be Lady Steele's answer to this letter is £300.

I enclose to You a letter from Morgan Davies, with my answer on the Back. I beleive You had better conceal that I send you his letter, you may be sure He shall have no consent of mine Separate from yours, for you rule Me intirely.

Lady Steele's reply is among the Blenheim MSS. It is a somewhat sad letter, but I give it here because it throws considerable light on the subject, and that from a quarter from which we have little evidence. It must not be forgotten that the bitterness of tone is partly to be accounted for by the writer's ill-health. She was nervous, and had pains in the head and gout. Still, it cannot be denied that there was enough to make her querulous in her husband's weaknesses. The letter bears a good impression of the seal used by the Steeles of Cheshire, and is endorsed in Steele's writing, "My Wife, Re^d feb: 22^d, 1717^e."

S^r

Having ill health, I shou'd not have done my self y^e honour of writing by this post but in obedience to y^r Request; to answar y^r Querie how y^u came to owe me 300^l. first y^u are to remember y^u have often declar'd y^u wou'd pay me back every farthing y^u ever Receiv'd from my Estate (as y^u were pleas'd to call it) & y^t I enough answar'd for y^e maintenance I've had from you wth my once usefull health, & best services; now Allowing this there is due to me to Ballance y^e Account of y^r house keeping y^e last two years, w^{ch} I've y^r hand for, 200^l, y^e other I can shew from, papers of Accounts and bills of yours; Even without my mothers, but methinks instead of Asking questions y^u might have promis'd payment, wⁿ able, yⁿ know, all I can saue & more yⁿ I can well spare, is for y^r daughters who will be in a very Low way if they haue naught Else to provide for y^m; y^u fright me in not saying a word of M^r Gillmore's Affairs; y^u may be as soft & civill & generous, & fond &c: as y^u please to people who hate me, but their being Relations shall never more Excuse it to me, I will, and shall have it, in my power (if I Liue) to cast of all Acquaintances (but a husband) who slight, and dispise me,

S^r y^r humb Ser^{mt} M. S.

Pray pay Mrs Keck 40s or 50s if yⁿ give her 50s more to get me gown [t^l will be 05 pound]¹ I shall be glad I'll pay yⁿ again, if y^u can demand it after w^t I put y^u in mind of on y^e other side.

¹ The words in brackets are inserted above the line in the MS.

Coz: Sandy will send Morgan davis's answar by this post.¹

if² y^u are an honest Man in y^o Least, y^u neither say or write any thing but w^t I might know; y^r Letters here cause great Whisperings and sneering Laughs they are known to every one but my self, I shou'd be aboue minding these things but I am ty'd here for my childrens good, for some time, and can see nothing but behaviour very odious to me; it has given me vapours to a vast degree, I leave y^r behaviour to y^r good understanding, not y^r partiality to me, in y^s Affair.

I shall be glad to end wth Morgan davis, because I want y^o money to pay 2 years intrest, & our diet here, & wages, &c: Remember dick Phillips is a jackabite, &:

y^u say not a word about y^o playhouse & other things I spoke of pray think not of coming till y^o end of sommer to stay not aboue a monnth.

On the day after the receipt of this letter Steele wrote that the children were well, and that he was waiting impatiently for his money, but made no allusion to his wife's letter. Perhaps one of Steele's letters is missing. On the 25th he wrote that he was every day doing something towards getting his affairs straight.

Feb. 25th, 1716-17.

DEAR PRUE,

This goes to Dear Prue to comfort Her in her absence from Her Husband. If she thinks the distance as painfull as He does Hearing from Him must be a great satisfaction. I am sure as soon as I have made my affairs so easy as that We can be together without being interrupted with worldly care, I shall put an end to the distance between Us. I, every day, do something towards this and next Week shall pay off Madam Dawson. You shall have within a few days a state of my Circumstances, the prospect of bettering them, and the progresse I have already made in this necessary Work. The Children do come on so well that it would make ev'n me Covetous to put them in a condition equal to the good Genius, I blesse God, they seem to be of. Moll is the noisiest little Creature in the World, and as active as a Boy. Madam Betty is the Gravest of Matrons in her Airs and Civilities. Eugene a most Beautifull and Lusty Child.

¹ "next post, he's gone to his country seat y^s day," first written, and cancelled.

² What follows is written across the fly-leaf.

The Parliament goes on but coldly, but I hope there is a warmer Spirit will soon appear in the Service of this Nation, which possessed of the most solid blessings, sacrifices it self to trifles.

Y^{rs} Ever

RICHARD STEELE

Steele promised that when the money did come Betty's schooling should be paid for, and the receipt sent for Lady Steele's satisfaction. Her cousin David had been making himself somewhat notorious at Oxford. The proctor, the Rev. John White, is said by Amherst¹ to have declared that whilst he was in power no member of the Constitution Club should take a degree. Amherst continues, that Mr. Scurlock, B.A., Fellow of Jesus College, and a member of the Club, "was plucked (*i.e.*, disgraced, and forbid to proceed in performing his exercise) for mentioning the word *King* in his declamation: He was afterwards denied his grace, and withheld from his degree till the expiration of this proctorship, for refusing to subscribe to a paper that contained very unjust reflections on the Constitution Club."

DEAR PRUE

I am very well pleased with the behaviour of David at Oxford, who has render'd Himself very agreeable to all the Whigg World on a very proper occasion, at Oxon. He spoke contemptibly of the pretender in a publick Speech and the Proctor thought fitt to reprove Him thereupon. The Bishop of Bangor² takes occasion to espouse him in this juncture.

Your Daughter Moll is noisy, Betty very Grave, and Eugene very Strong and Lusty. We are not yet paid a farthing: when We are I shall send you down a receipt for Betty's Scooling.

Ever Yours,

RICHARD STEELE.

Feb. 28th, 1717.

On the 2nd March, Steele wrote to apologise for not having

¹ *Terra-Filius*, 1726, ii. 284-5.

² The following memorandum is transcribed from the handwriting of Dr. Hoadly, when Bishop of Bangor. Mr. Scurlock having, in 1720, stood candidate for a city lectureship, the Bishop recommends him thus: "The good character I have heard of Mr. Scurlock from many very worthy and respectable persons, joined to my own personal knowledge of him, induce me to recommend him to the parishioners of St. Peter le Poor.—BENJAMIN BANGOR, March 21, 1720." [Nichols.]

written the first thing, as he usually did, on a post-day; but Budgell, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Fuller had come in to dinner, and he had afterwards been to the play with Mr. Fuller. "Your friend Keck," attended by Captain Ferrers, "was the finest, gayest figure there." The next letter, which is undated, contains an allusion to a comedy then in course of construction, and remarks upon the way in which he had been treated by the Whig party. "I am talking to my wife, and therefore may speak my heart, and the vanity of it."

MY DEAREST PRUE AND BELOVED WIFE &c.

I have Yours of the 7th instant, which turns wholly upon my taking care of my Health, and advice to forbear embarking too deeply in Publick matters, which you enforce by reminding me of the Ingratitude Ive met with. I have as quick a sense of the ill treatment I have received as is consistent with keeping up my own spirit and Good Humour. Whenever I am a Malcontent I will take care not to be a gloomy one, but hope to keep some Stings of Wit and Humour in my own defence. I am talking to my Wife, and therefore may speake my Heart and the Vanity of it. I know, and You are witnesse, that I have served the Royall Family with an unreservednesse due only to Heaven, and I am now, (I thank my Brother Whiggs) not possessed of twenty shillings from the favour of the Court. The Play-House it had been barbarity to deny at the Player's request and therefore I do not allow it, a Favour. But I banish the very memory of these things nor will I expect any thing but what I must strike out of my self. By Tuesday's post I think I shall be able to Guesse when I shall Leave the Town, and Turn all my thoughts to finish my Comedy. You will find I have got so much constancy and fortitude as to Live my own way, (within the rules of Good Breeding and decency) wherever I am. For I will not sacrifice Y^r Husband and the father of the Poor Babes to any one's Humour in the world. But to provide for and do you Good, is all my Ambition.

I have a list of 21 Leases for the setting out 199^l : 08s : 00 p
Ann: I have not yet heard of Mr. Philips.

I am Dear Prue, Ever Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

Then comes a charming letter about Eugene Steele, a most delightful child, and a very great scholar, able to make most shrewd remarks upon the pictures. But he grew very ragged;

probably his mother would pardon his being equipped with new clothes?

HAMPTON-COURT

March 16th, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

If you have written any thing to me which I should have received last night I begg Your pardon that I cannot answer till the next post. The House of Commons will be very busie the next Week and I had many things publick and private for which I wanted four and twenty Hours retirement and therefore came to visit your Son. I came out of Town yesterday being Friday and shall return to-morrow. Your Son at the present writing is mighty well employed in Tumbling on the Floor of the room, and Sweeping the sand with a Feather. He grows a most delightfull Child, and very full of Play and Spiritt. He is also a very great Scholar. He can read His Primer, and I have brought down my Virgil. He makes most shrewd remarks upon the Pictures. We are very intimate Freinds and Play fellows. He begins to be very ragged and I hope I shall be pardoned if I equip Him with new Cloaths and Frocks or what Mrs. Evans and I shall think for His Service.

I am, Dear Prue, Ever Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

Parliament met in February, and after a few days Walpole brought forward a scheme for reducing the National Debt, by paying off, or reducing the interest of redeemable funds, and by offering an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. The opportunity was favourable, on account of the flourishing state of public credit and the low price of money; but Steele, thinking that it would not be just to adopt the course proposed, did not hesitate to speak against it

March 19th, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

Mr. Richard Philips was with Me this morning and I signed the Leases to which I saw Your hand. This Day has been a great affair in the House of Commons. Mr. Walpole, in very clear and excellent Terms, laid before Us the State of the Debt of the nation, and proposed a Way by Lowering the interest given to the Creditors of the kingdome, and other methods to ease Our Circumstances. I happened to be the only man in the House who Spoke against it¹ because I did not think the Way of doing it Just. I beelve the

¹ This is confirmed by the account of the debate in the *Political State*.

Scheme will take place, and if it does, Walpole must be a very great man.

I am very well pleased with the prospect from Mr. Gillmore's design, and from the integrity of my intentions in all my actions in great tranquillity of mind. I contract my sails every day and when I receive my money shall be in such a Way as will shew that you and my little one's are all my sincere delight.

I am, Dear Prue, Ever Yours
RICHARD STEELE.

In another letter, undated, Steele told his wife, by way of showing that he was grown very hard-hearted, and fit for this world, that he had refused to assist a Mrs. Long, who had been arrested and had applied to him for help. "The Lords of the Treasury have ordered us some money, and I shall husband it to the best advantage, to keep above this ill-natured world; but it is a terrible circumstance to have one's money due to others before it comes into one's own hands." He hoped that an estate of £100 a year, which had been forfeited to the King by one who died for murder, would be granted to him, to help him out of the inconveniences his zeal brought upon him, and which he had not yet recovered. Dick Philips had been, and the leases were executed. His wife reminded Steele of the good woman in the Proverbs, of whom it is said that her husband shall be honoured from her character. "I submit my conduct to the imitation of yours, and shall take you with me in all matters of concern." In another letter, signed "your most affectionate, obsequious husband," Steele says: "You tell me you want a little flattery from me." He could assure her that she was free from all the vices which attended the good qualities of other people; for she was a very handsome woman who loved retirement; she did not want wit, and yet was extremely sincere. But she had one extravagant fault; she did not love to dress, to appear, to shine out, even at her husband's request, and to indulge the pride he had that she was his. He hoped she would condescend to be, what Nature made her, the most beauteous and most agreeable of her sex. "A quarter of Molly's schooling is paid." Lady Steele—"your Prueship," as Steele puts it—was still suffering from pains in the head, and her husband urged her to follow Garth's advice.

MY DEAREST PRUE

I have received yours, wherein you give me the sensible affliction of letting me know of the continuall pain in Your Head. I could not meet with necessary advice, but according to the Description you give me I am confident washing your head in cold Water will cure You; I mean having water pour'd on your head, and rubbed with an hand, from the Crown of your head to the nape of your neck. When I lay in y^r place, and on y^r Pillow I assure [you] I fell into Tears last night to think that my Charming little insolent might be then awake and in pain, and tooke it to be a Sin to go to Sleep.

For this tender passion towards You I must be contented that your Prueship will condescend to call your self my Well wisher. I am going abroad and write before I go out lest accidents should happen to prevent my writing at all. If I can meet with farther advice for You I will send it in a letter to Alexander.

I am,

Dear Prue, Ever Thine

RICHARD STEELE.

March 26th, 1717.

Steele missed the next post through being in attendance on the Duke of Newcastle, who was in the chair at the Kit-Cat Club. He hoped in a few days to get enough money to pay off all hangers-on, and to have no more for the future. "I pant for leisure and tranquillity, which I hope to enjoy when we meet again." On the 9th April he wrote: "Keep up your spirit; and let us live like a man and woman that love when we next meet. I embrace you, and am your most affectionate and most obliged humble servant." The next letter was probably written about the same time.

DEAR PRUE

I am, as You observe, still in town, and have your rallying letter. The Charms of the Fair sex are, you say, unaccountable, 'tis well for You they are, For I assure You I think You both the Fairest and the best of Women.

I have been much at home and alone since We parted. I am come to a resolution of making my Three Children my partners and will constantly lay up something out of all receipts of money for each of them in a Box bearing the name of the little one to whome it belongs. Betty grows tall and has the best Air I ever saw in

any Creature of Her Age. I am going to dine with the Speaker. Things at Court seem to be in a very uncertain Way.

I am, Dear Prue, Eternally Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

In the meantime a division had been occasioned among the Whigs by the King's message asking for special supplies to enable him to take such measures as would secure the country against threatened danger from Sweden and would prevent similar apprehension in the future. On the 10th April, Steele mentioned the chief alterations in the Ministry, among which was Addison's appointment as Secretary of State, and spoke of the unfashionable thing which he had always had, called conscience. The extract from a speech which he gives will show how far in advance of the time were his views upon religious tolerance. The postscript is significant, after all the protestations of an intention to be economical: "As soon as I have money I will have Pall Mall searched for a house."

DEAR PRUE,

It is now Wednesday and meeting with Your letter I write now least I should not have leisure to-morrow when Our Board are to meet very early. Now as to your letter. You say I am reported a Tory. You know I have always an unfashionable thing called Conscience in all matters of Judicature or Justice. There happened a little while ago a Petition to be brought into the House of Commons from the Roman Catholicks praying relief as to point of time and the meaning of certain Clauses which affected them. When there was a Question Just ready to be put upon this as whether it should be rejected or not I stood up and said to this purpose.

Mr. Speaker

I cannot but be of Opinion that to put Severities upon men merely on account of Religion is a most grievous and Unwarrantable proceeding. But indeed the Roman Catholicks hold tenets which are inconsistent with the Being and safety of a Protestant People; For this reason we are Justified in laying upon them the Penalties which the Parliament has from time to time thought fitt to inflict, but, S^r, Let Us not pursue Roman Catholicks with the Spirit of our own Religion, but Act towards them with the Temper of our own Religion. If We do so we shall not expect them [to] do any

thing in lesse time than is necessary to do it, or to conduct themselves by rules which they do not understand &c.

When I had adventured to say this others followed and there is a Bill directed for the releif of the Petitioners. I suppose this gave an Handle to the Fame of my being a Tory, but you may, perhaps, by this time, have heard that I am turned Presbyterian. For the same day in a meeting of an 100 Parliament men I labour'd as much for the Protestant dissenters.

Now for the News. Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen and Mr. Pulteney have resigned their Offices. Mr. Stanhope is to go into the Treasury. Mr. Addison and L^d Sunderland are to be Secretaries of State. L^d Townshend is remov'd from L^d L^t of Ireland, He is to be succeeded by the Duke of Bolton and the Duke of Newcastle to be L^d Chamberlain. We have got no money. I recover very fast of my Gouty Lameness, and now I am in a better way I own to You I have had a sad time scarce ever well of the Gout since We parted. The Children and all y^r Family are Well. God Blesses You:

RICHARD STEELE.

Ap: 10th, 1717.

As soon as I have money I will have Pall-Mall searched for an House.

On the 13th he wrote that he hoped for something in the new changes; on the 16th he dined with Addison, who had received the seals of office, but he found that the employment of Commissioner, by the Act which constituted the commission, prevented his having any other office. The next letter is undated.

DEAR PRUE

I had a letter from Mr. Scurlock coolly saying You ordered Him to let me know you were indisposed, and could not write.

I expect more fondness, & that you say, at least, some kind thing to me under your own hand every post. The Lords of the Treasury when they went out of their post ordered half a Years salary to Our commission, and when that comes out of the Managers hands from the Estates forfeited We shall be paid; And that I beleive will be about a fortnight hence. In the mean time I want it sorely to pay off many things and keep something by Me, If ever I can bring my self to that Economy.

You have the kindest of Husbands

RICHARD STEELE.

I am very Lame but in good Health otherwise.

Lady Steele appears to have written warning her husband to shun all engagements which might ensnare his integrity, for his children's sake. Steele replied on the 22nd April, acknowledging the good sense and greatness of mind shown in her letter, and promising to seek all occasions of profit that were consistent with integrity. "Little Molly, who is in the house with me, is a constant dun to get money." He hoped his "dear innocents" would be able not only to speak of their father's integrity, but also to say that he left them competent estates. As to politics, he should simply follow his conscience. He was recovering very slowly; "ever since you went I have been almost as great a cripple as your dear mother was. . . . I take your advice of temperance." The Fish Pool affair was finished, with great success, "insomuch that Sir Isaac Newton is desirous the machine may stand at his house, and be carried from thence to the Parliament," which would meet on the 6th May. Steele was about to meet Benson and Gillmore to arrange all matters relating to it. Then we have an allusion to another letter from Lady Steele with "advice against temptation, &c." Steele had been to Mrs. Clayton's—Woman of the Bedchamber and Mistress of the Robes to the Princess of Wales, and afterwards Lady Sundon—and thence to Court. "If I do not do my business just now, I must be contented to go on in the beaten dull road, and aim no more at lively strokes." "Oh, Prue, you are very unkind in writing in so cool a strain to the warmest, tenderest heart that ever woman commanded." Steele objected to receive messages from her through others; "I beseech you, when you have health, to employ your own fair hand." On the 26th April he wrote: "I am much obliged to you for so long a letter in your own hand-writing. I am glad you are any way got out of Davies's clutches; there is no possibility of escaping out of such claws without loss of some blood. I am trying to get out of hucksters' hands here also." The next letter, to his "dear little peevish, beautiful, wise governess," is interesting. Steele was thrown into such raptures by being called "good Dick," that he could forget his lameness and walk down to Wales.

DEAR PRUE

You never date Your letters which very much perplexes Me. To avoid the same fault I tell you that I have Just received Yours on Wednesday evening May y^e 1st and sit down to answer now I am alone and at leisure. I am heartily concerned for Your Eyes; I have often told You I beleive you have used enchantments to Enslave Me for an expression in Yours of *Good Dick* has put me in so much rapture that I could forget my present most miserable lameness and Walk down to You. I have at this time interest enough to do what you ask for Sandy;¹ But I do not ask Mr. Secretary Addison any thing. Gillmore dined with Me to-day when Benson was expected but did not come to Our Great uneasiness, For We were to have taken measures to bring the matter into Parliament, and concerted every thing else relating to the Machine, which is a most prodigious Work.

My Lord Cadogan who is now in the first degree of favour sat with me here the other night above an Hour. I should by His Great Franknesse and Generosity of mind be rightly recommended and represented, but my decrepid condition spoils all. The Money is not yet come to hand which makes me very uneasy and out of patience. I think the affair which Sandy asks for is to be Surveyor of Glasse Windows for Carmarthen and an adjacent county. I had not interest in the Treasury till this new commission² was constituted, but think there is not one in it that would not be ready to do me a little favour.

My dear little Peevish Beautifull Wise governesse God Blesse You,

RICHARD STEELE.

I do not write news to You because I have ordered the letter from the Secretary's office to be sent to you constantly.

During the first week of May, Steele was too ill to write long letters, but he protested against hearing of his wife only through Sandy and others. Lady Steele was now staying at Blaencorse. "I love you," Steele wrote, "with the most ardent affection, and

¹ Alexander Scurlock. The will of his first wife, Hester Wolley, was proved in 1737, and in the same year Edward Gwynne, late of Lampeter, now of Narberth, Gent., instituted an action in Chancery against Alexander Scurlock and Dorothy and Lettice Wolley, about tenements and lands called Llangwathen and Whitley, Lampeter (Chancery Proceedings, Woodford, 1714-58, No. 1253).

² The then Lords Commissioners were Viscount Stanhope, Lord Torrington, John Wallop, George Baillie, and Thomas Micklethwayte, Esquires.

very often run over little heats that have sometimes happened between us with tears in my eyes. I think no man living has so good, so discreet a woman to his wife as myself; and I thank you for the perseverance in urging me incessantly to have done with the herd of indigent unthankful people, who have made me neglect those who should have been my care from the first principle of charity." In another letter to his "dear, honoured, lovely Prue," he said: "I highly admire and honour you for your good conduct in clearing your estate and paying your debts. Nothing on my part shall be omitted to render you cheerful in your endeavours for our common good; for I design to allow you to be the head-piece, and give as much into your power as I can, which is but justice to the good and skilful use you have made of the power already reposed in you." Mr. Fuller had given him a very good chariot, and the old one, with ten pounds, would purchase a good chaise. "Depend upon it, I abhor debt as much as treason." From the next letter it would seem that Lady Steele had some idea of returning to London at this time.

DEAR PRUE

I have your kind letter of May 7th, which was a great pleasure to Me. I begin to think I shall have my limbs very soon again for I am in an unusuall freedome in my faculties. If you have businesse to do in the Countrey do it for things here are not yet in so good a way as I hope they will be soon. You must not put Me off with Excuses for want of Paper since I send You every post a Sheet to answer with enclosed with that I write to You.

I am, dear Prue Ever Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

May 14th, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

I was mightily pleased with a letter under Your hand for the length of which I thank You; I do not insist upon long Epistles, but to have a line is absolutely necessary to Keep up our Spirits to each other. I am obliged to You for Your inclination towards the Girles, and the thought of taking up the Mortgage. You bid me write no crosse Stufe; I ask no unreasonable things to Keep me in good Humour. I cannot imagine what You and your Cousin can

have disagreed so much about but she is my relation as she is Yours. I am wonderfully recovered to what I was. Eugene Betty & Molly are in perfect Health.

Ever yours

RICHARD STEELE.

May 18th, 1717.

Mrs. Clark has just now been Here. She Pleads Poverty and I have promised Her as soon as I get money to pay Her the interest which was due on y^e fifty pounds Bond which you have p^d off.

From a subsequent letter it seems that Steele was in some way or other blamed for Mr. Philips's misdeeds and Mrs. Bevan's insolence to Lady Steele.

May 22^d, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

Your Son is now with Me very Merry in Rags, which Condition I am going to better; For He shall have new things immediately. He is extremely pretty and has his face sweetned with something of the Venus His Mother, which is no small delight to the Vulcan who begott Him.

Ever yours,

RICHARD STEELE.

His wife rallied Steele about this note, whereupon he answered that he did not doubt he should see her as fine a lady as ever she was. "I am sure I shall think you so; but complacency, and a little regard to a poor decrepid creature, ungratefully and barbarously used, I should think you owe me as a Whig, if not as a wife."

DEAR PRUE,

I have Yours of the 18th, and am always pleased when I see any thing under your fair hand: But by the Way I expect the Sheet of Paper I send to You sent up to me in the next letter and not such scandalous half Sheets. The report of Exempting Me from pay is False, for five hundred pounds, for the time the Commission was in Scotland is already ordered Me: Which I dayly expect to receive: As for your Staying all the Winter I Long to See you and We will never part again till Death Separate Us. Benson is so busy with the Great Men that Gillmore's affair is retarded by it. I will say nothing about my coming down till I see further about the Duration of this Session of Parliament.

I am Ever Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

Wednesday, May 22^d, 1717.

Least you should not read well the interlineation¹ I say the 500^l ordered me is for the time the Commission was in Scotland.

Hangers-on, Steele found, if beholden to your pocket, are only ashamed they are obliged to you, and leave your interest; he would in future be clear of them. "Though my wife"—"fantastically shy as you are of doing anything that should make your husband think you love him"—"gives herself whimsical airs of saying, 'if she is unworthy, yet the children'—I say, though you talk of the children, if I will not mind you; I tell you, they are dear to me more that they are yours than that they are mine; for which I know no reason but that I am, in spite of your Ladyship's coynesses and particularities, utterly yours." "Do not," he wrote on the 11th June, "talk of love taking leave of an object; I tell you I love you to dotage."

The next three letters are given in full.

DEAR PRUE

I am heartily Glad my letter which you received on Whitsuntide was so agreeable to You. It is indeed, in our power, to make each other as happy as Mortalls are capable of being. I have in pursuance of the resolution I told You of parted with my new Man, and have now only Wilmot. If you think Sam would recover Here it is well to send Him, but I cannot tell when I can Leave the Town, because the Tryall of my Lord Oxford will prolong the Session. The Managers for that purpose were named yesterday.² I have been a little intemperate, and discomposd with it, but I will be very Sober for the future, especially for the sake of the most amiable and most deserving Woman who has made Me Her

Happy Slave and Obedient Husband,

RICHARD STEELE.

June 15th, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

I have Yours of the 14th and am infinitely obliged to You for the length of it. I do not know another whome I could commend

¹ The words "for the time the Commission was in Scotland."

² The Earl of Oxford, after being in prison two years, was brought up for trial on the 24th June; but a quarrel ensued between the two Houses, and eventually the Earl was acquitted by the House of Lords because no one appeared to make good the impeachment against him.

for that Circumstance, but where we intirely Love the continuance of any thing they do to please us is a pleasure. As for your relations; once for all pray take it for granted that my regard and conduct towards all and singular of them shall be as You direct.

I hope by the Grace of God to continue what you wish Me, every way, an Honest man. My Wife and my Children are the objects that have wholly taken up my Heart, and as I am not invited, or encouraged in any thing which regards the publick, I am easy under that neglect, or envy of my past actions, and Chearfully contract that diffusive spirit within the interests of my own family. You are the Head of Us and I stoop to a female reign as being naturally made the Slave of Beauty. But to prepare for our manner of living when we are again together, Give me Leave to say, while I am here at Leisure and come to lye at Chelsea, what I think may contribute to our better way of Living. I very much approve Mrs. Evans and Her Husband, and if you would take my advice I would have them have a being in Our House, and Mrs. Clark¹ the care and inspection of the Nursery. I would have You, intirely at Leisure to passe your time with Me in diversions, in Books, in Entertainments, and no manner of Businesse intrude upon Us but at stated times; for, tho' you are made to be the delight of my Eyes, and food of all my senses and faculties Yet a Turn of Care and Huswifry, and I know not what prepossession against conversation pleasures, robbs Me of the Witty and the Handsome Woman to a degree not to be expressed. I will work my brains and fingers to procure us plenty of all things, and demand nothing of you but to take delight in agreeable dresses, Chearfull discourses, and Gay sights attended by Me. This may be done by putting the Kitchen and the nursery in the hands I propose, and I shall have nothing to do but to passe as much time at home as I possibly can, in the best Company in the World. We cannot tell Here what to think of the Tryall of my Lord Oxford; if the Ministry are in Earnest in that, and I should see it will be extended to a length of time I will leave them to themselves and Wait upon You. Miss Moll grows a mighty Beauty, and she shall be very prettily dressed, as likewise shall Betty and Eugene, and if I throw away a little money in adorning my Brats I hope you will forgive Me. They are, I thank God, all very

¹ Mrs. Clark is mentioned several times in these letters. A Mrs. Clark, married to Abraham Clark, a Spitalfields weaver, was Milton's youngest daughter, and was helped by Addison shortly before his death in 1719. Milton's daughter died in 1727.

well, and the Charming Form of their mother has temper'd the likenesse they bear to their rough Sire, who is, With the greatest fondnesse

Y^r Most oblig'd and most Obedient Husband

RICHARD STEELE.

June 20th, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

I have Yours of the 17th, and am beholden to You that You will be persuaded to dresse when I am with You. As for my Share about the Brats, Gillmore's¹ affair goes on so happily that I am in no manner of doubt but I shall be able to do amply for them. I like your expression about immortality, and know our happinesse in next life will depend very much upon our behaviour to each other in this. We may promote or interrupt each other on the Way thither by our conduct, and as I do not doubt your part to Me, so I hope you will not mine to You. As for my Vivacityes they are changed into chearfull Endeavours for the Good of my family. I never can, I own at the same time, be what they call, thoroughly, frugall, but my Expence shall be at home in a plentiful supply of all things for You and the Bratts, with regard to pleasures as well as necessaries. Mr. Hoadly the Bishop of Bangor, has in the sermon for which He is so ill treated, done like an Apostle and asserted the True Dominion established by Our Blessed Saviour.

I am, Dear Prue,

Y^r most Affectionate Oblig'd obedient Husband,

RICHARD STEELE.

June 21st, 1717.

The sermon of Dr. Hoadly's alluded to in this letter was called *The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ*, and had been preached before the King in March. In it Hoadly said that Christ was the sole King and Law-giver in His Church, and that to Him alone were His subjects responsible in matters of conscience. The Bishop had previously published a small book entitled *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonconformists*, &c.; and these pieces gave rise to the famous Bangorian controversy. One pamphlet, *The Layman's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor*, &c., dated 1716, was reported to be by Steele, but it has since been attributed to John Shute Barring-

¹ MS., "Gindmore's."

ton. The writer approved of the view taken by Hoadly, that the supreme Civil Power had a right to depose those Bishops who would not take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. The King was the head both of Church and State, and he was a worse Churchman who disowned him than he who disowned his Bishop; the Nonconformist who would hazard his life and fortune for King and country was more of the Church of England than he who communicated with it, and was ready to destroy it. *The Layman's Second Letter* appeared on May 13, but it is apparently by a different writer. On the 16th, the Committee of Convocation reported that the tendency of the two books of Hoadly's under consideration was, first, to subvert all government and discipline in the Church, and to reduce Christ's Kingdom to a state of anarchy; and, secondly, to impugn the regal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the Legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. In a piece attributed to Dr. Sherlock, called *Remarks upon the Lord Bishop of Bangor's Treatment of the Clergy and Convocation*, Steele was attacked as the author of *The Layman's Letter*; but the writer of a *Reply* to this pamphlet, published on the 18th June, said that there was no better evidence for Steele's authorship than common fame, and that the *Letter* was really written by a printer, who had not long since been a printer's boy; "the truth of which is not our business," as Defoe remarks.¹

This was far from being the end of the controversy, but we need not pursue the matter further, except to say that in October Hoadly was attacked for employing as a teacher of languages to his children a French refugee named Francis de la Pillonniere, who had been formerly a Jesuit, but had become a Protestant. Dr. Snape alleged that Pillonniere was still a Jesuit in disguise, and Pillonniere published an *Answer* to this accusation, which only led to further attacks. In this same year Pillonniere printed a French translation, with notes, of the Dedication to Pope Clement XI. which had been prefixed to Steele's *Account of the State of the Roman Catholick Religion*, but which was in reality by Hoadly; and an English version

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, June 1717.

of Pillonniere's notes and preface followed immediately afterwards.¹

On the 24th June Steele assured his wife that there was no fear of his being a manager against Lord Oxford; he was at Chelsea, with his books, and would in future avoid all odious offices, except where the safety of his country was immediately concerned. He would not go to the House during the trial of Lord Oxford, but would pass his time in what would, he hoped, bring a large sum of money in the winter. "Betty and Molly were with me here yesternight, that is, on Sunday evening; they were very good company, and I treated them with strawberries and cream, and, according to my fond way, ate more than both of them." In the next letter particulars are given of the proposed Fish Pool Patent. Mr. Benson, it seems, bore all the main expense, and Steele did not expect to be more than £100 out of pocket before the scheme was perfected.

July 2nd, 1717.

DEAR PRUE

Yours of the 25th of last month is inquisitive whether the affair of Gillmore passes the House this present session of Parliament. We have examined into the necessary method for such an invention. We must, in the first place have a Patent under the Great seal for fourteen Years, which is a thing cannot be denied. When we have this We are to sett forth to the Parliament by petition that We have such a Patent and hope We shall appear to merit a longer term than the Crown is able to give Us, and ask of the Legislative power to add to the fourteen Years twenty one more, so that in the Whole the profits in the Invention will be in Our families thirty five Years. We are going to take the patent immediately which secures us at first and shall bring our Petition for the Longer time next Session. Benson is at all the Charge, that is, the main Expence; but you need not doubt but I shall one way or other

¹ One pamphlet, "The D[ea]n of W[orcester]" (*i. e.*, Francis Hare, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) "still the same; or, his new defence of the Lord Bishop of Bangor's [Hoadly] sermon, &c., considered as the performance of a great critick, a man of sense, and a man of probity. By an impartial hand," published in April 1720 (*Evening Post*, April 9-12, 1720), has been attributed to Steele (Catalogue of the Library of the Athenæum, 1845, p. 512, and Catalogue of the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum), but upon what grounds I cannot say. There is no MS. note in either of the copies mentioned to throw light on the authorship, and the internal evidence is strongly against Steele having written this learned controversial pamphlet of 111 pages.

be out an Hundred pounds before it is perfected. All this while you are to know that We are to have our Charges placed in common when the thing comes to bear. It is demonstration that Here is a very considerable estate, But I am come to that that be it never so certain I shall not act upon it in my Expences till I am actually in possession of the Growing profits. Excellent reformation! You shall be obeyed about Mrs. Clark and Mrs. Keck and every thing else in my Power. The Children are the most amiable things in the world and I will keep them very Gay and prettily dressed, for I Grow a dull Family Creature. All my publick Spirit, and Gallantry is turned into the care of a Wayward Beauty called a Wife, and a parcell of Brats called Children.

RICHARD STEELE.

Writing two days later, Steele said: "As to my journey, I cannot tell what to say as to the time of setting out; but can by no means think of the stage-coach. I must travel so as to have my hours my own, and halt when I please; for, you must know, I begin to take great care of your husband, as knowing he grows a very good one every way." Then, after referring to the Earl of Oxford's trial, he adds: "But what are these things to us and brats? I am entirely devoted to you and yours." In the next letter, dated 11th July, and beginning, "Ten thousand times my dear, dear, pretty Prue," he apologises for missing a post; he had been into company without having written before he left home, and "you know the unhappy gaiety of my temper when I have got in." "Two people," he says further on, "who are entirely linked together in interest, in humour, and affection, may make this being very agreeable; the main thing is, to preserve always a disposition to please and be pleased. . . . Think, dream and wish for nothing but me, who make you a return in the same affection to you."

DEAR PRUE

Yours of the tenth instant lyes before Me. You are very good in thanking me for what is my duty, being in pain when any thing disturbs You. You recommend care of Health and money. God will, in his due time, restore Me to the former by the Use of my limbs, which is all I want of perfect Health. As to money I am grown very fond of it, but as you are a good Keeper of it, I design y^r Estate shall constantly be laid up after the Mortgage is paid off,

and the allowance for You and Children shall come from Me, over and above what y^r estate Brings. This will enable us to put our Children into the World, If God shall please to continue Us to see them disposed off. The Contest of the Bishop¹ has ended in the confusion of his Adversaries. Dr. Edwards is, I suppose, of Bangor's side of the Question in the main argument. I cannot tell what to answer you about the Bath, but when I Leave this Town, My Servants shall have board-Wages, and I will take a Snap any how. For I must keep my self to my self and have my Play² ready this ensuing Winter, in Order to be quite out of Debt.

I approve y^r reflection from what you see in others from want of Education, to be carefull of our Brats in that point. They are all Well. Moll is as great a Charmer as Her Mother, and will prove as great a Sharper.

Dear thing, How I Love You!

RICHARD STEELE.

July 16th, 1717,

S^T JAMES' STREET.

DEAR PRUE

I have yours of the 20th: I lament the lamentable condition you are in with relation to the place and other matters therein described with Great Wit and Spirit. But your letter is an argument against what you say, to wit, that it is impossible to write for a polite part of the world in that Neighbourhood. The King is at Hampton-Court, and I design next Week to go thither, with a Petition for a small Grant to make my self easy.

If I succeed, as I am encouraged to expect, Our labour for Our selves will be very much Shortened, and I have little more to care for but to enjoy the pleasure of Being, Dear Prue,

Y^r most Affectionate Husband &

most Obedient Hu^{ble} Ser^{nt}

RICHARD STEELE.

Jul: 24th, 1717.

As I was going to close this I hear the Voice of Mrs. Keck talking to Molly. But she is so great a Prue, that she comes and goes without seeing Me tho' I am in the House. But I have sent Her word I'me writing & She gives Her Service.

Mrs. Keck, Steele repeated two days later, was indeed a very good Prue; and though he diverted himself with her gravity and admonition, he had a sincere respect for her. He was

¹ Dr. Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor.

² *The Conscious Lovers*, first acted in 1722.

obliged for his wife's kind letter, expressing fears about his catching cold, and the like. He proposed to wholly turn off his coach-horses,¹ for he was now at his study whole days together. "Your daughter Moll has stole away my very heart; but doubt not her brother and sister will recover their share when we are all together, except their mother robs them all of him who is, dear Prue, entirely yours." "You mistake," he says in another letter, "when you say I wish to see Wales out of any suspicion; I assure you I design that journey only out of curiosity, to see what, by your favour, will one day be in my posterity, if it shall please God to continue our children to us. They are now all three in good health, and I hope to tell you before this day se'nnight that I have paid Betty's schooling."

DEAR PRUE

Yours of the 25th is before Me: I am always Glad when you write a great deal, but do not hurt Your Eyes to scribble longer than is easy to You. Your kind expression is the most Welcome and pleasing thing which could possibly arrive at Me. Mr. Glanville² of the Treasury asked me the other day how my Wonderfull Girle did. There is, it seems, a Lady of His Acquaintance who visits Betty at School, and Cryes her up for a greater Wit than her Father; that is not much, but than Her Mother either. I am every day walking about the Offices, to get our salleryes paid that I might go into the Country, and particularly the Bath, whence you shall direct Me further, that is, command My Motions. But if I find my limbs easy to Me I beleive I shall vigorously pursue my Journey to the Dearest of Women to the most Affectionate of Men.

Poor Dear Angry Pleased Pretty Witty Silly Eve[ry]thing Prue

Y^{rs} Ever

RICHARD STEELE.

Jul: 29th, 1717.

¹ Oldmixon, in what Lowndes calls "an infamous book," published in this year, 1717—*Court Tales*—alludes to Steele's chariot. "It was no wonder to see the fool *Baevius* [Aaron Hill (Key)] in his gilt chariot this week, and the next staring through the Counter-gates, when *Varus* [Steele (Key)], a man of wit, set him the example. A humour, which has prevailed on more wits than one, whom I have known with great pride lolling it in a gay chariot in May, and footing it with as good a grace in December. . . . Blind to contempt;" &c. (p. 52).

² William Glanvill, Esq., one of the Clerks of the Treasury, and Receiver of the Revenues of the First-fruits Office. He died in the January following, and was buried at Wooton, in Surrey. The substance of his charitable will may be seen in Aubrey's *Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 144. (Nichols.)

[July 31, 1717.]

MY DEAR WIFE

Yours [of the] 27th came to hand. I am very far from being insincere in my resolves about parting with insignificant people. I am ready to burst with indignation against my own folly, and melt with Gratitude for y^r Goodnesse in bearing so long as You have. I am in Purgatory till it is otherwise, and am really in danger of falling into the contrary extream of being too near, and reserved. God Almighty Grant that We may meet together in such dispositions as to enjoy with our little ones the only true pleasures of Religion & Virtue.

Y^{rs} ever

RICHARD STEELE.

There are two notes dated 3rd August. Lady Steele had written, dissuading him from going to Wales, and saying that she heard he was ordered for Scotland. Steele was unfit for writing, having just come from "the most disagreeable place in the world, a great man's table." In the second note he gave his wife a thousand thousand thanks for her very pretty and very kind letter of the 29th July. "I am going to Hampton Court, where the King now is, to sollicite some matters relating to our Commission." On the 9th August Steele wrote to "Dear Moll": "Yours of the 4th is full of that naturall terror you have upon you by the apprehensions of thunder. There is no taking away such fears. I earnestly recommend you to the protection of God under that and all other amazement and failing of spirit. . . . How happy shall we be, when we are out of debt, to have nothing to do but to please and exhilarate each other, and educate our children in the love of that God who made us their parents!" The children, so far as he could judge impartially, seemed to have very good endowments.

Here we may notice an amusing note recommending a Mr. John Rollos, who wished to take out a patent for a pretty thought for the more commodious dress of women. As might be expected, there is no trace of the matter having gone further.¹ In 1726 Rollos obtained Letters Patent appointing him Chief Engraver of his Majesty's Signets and Seals.²

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Geo. I., 1717. Bundle 11, No. 98; endorsed "22 Aug^t 1717. Sr Ri: Steele. recomⁿ of M^r Rollos."

² *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, vii. 48, 117; Patent Rolls, Public Record Office.

S^r

The Bearer M^r John Rollos is an excellent Artificer in the businesse of an Engraver, and an officer of the Stamp-office, where I had the good fortune to know Him. He has had a very pretty thought for the more commodious dresse of Women, and is willing to go to the Charge of a Patent to ensure it to Himsilf. I earnestly recommend Him to Your Freindship and favour, which will be a new instance of y^r kind inclination to oblige, S^r,

Y^r Most Obedient and

Most Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

Augst 22^d 1717.

In November there was a "Letter to a Member of Parliament about Hooped Petticoats" in Read's *Weekly Journal*,¹ asking the member to endeavour to get a tax levied on them. Dennis afterwards sneered at Steele having wasted money in the smith's forge, not out of any sordid desire of gain, but zeal for the service of the ladies' petticoats; and in another place he asked, "How come you so earnest to get a patent for the Hoop, which you were so eager to demolish in your wonderful speculations?"² Steele's reply shows to some extent what Mr. Rollos's "pretty thought" was.³ "WHAT D'CALL mentions an engine for Hoop-petticoats, which makes them more easy and commodious to the wearer, closes about the limbs in going into a coach or any other narrow place, and expands itself when at liberty, without the trouble or care of the lady to adjust herself. Sir Richard introduced the inventor, Mr. Rollos, who lives in Maidenhead lane, and instructed him, out of regard to his ingenuity, and the service this would be to the fair sex, in the method of obtaining a Patent; but none of the Knight's gold went this way."⁴ He need not be concerned even if it were thought true

¹ November 23, 1717.

² *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar*, Letters I. and III., 1720.

³ *Theatre*, No. 11. According to a MS. note by Malone in a copy of the *Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar* in the British Museum, the hoops were to be made to fold up when the lady touched a spring.

⁴ Dr. Rundle, Bishop of Derry, wrote of Steele, that, in the hope of getting great wealth, he ran after every whim, and when the philosopher's stone would not do, "he could condescend to be thought the author of the humble discovery of a new-fashioned hoop-petticoat: but still 'twas with the sacred view of

that he did not do this "out of any sordid design of gain, but for the service of the ladies' petticoats." Who likes him the worse for his regard to women?

On the 17th August Steele wrote regretting that his wife felt so very uneasy, and recommending her to have Dymock, who seems to have been Steele's amanuensis. She could command Dymock, and might be mistress of her estate as absolutely as she was of her husband. But Lady Steele did not have Dymock. The following letter contains several interesting items of information, not the least of which is Steele's version of the directions given him by his wife as to taking a house: "Pall Mall, S^t James's Street, Gerard-Street, or a place near a Church: Which last you will have." There had evidently been a quarrel about the rent of the house in which Steele was then living:—

[Aug. 23, 1717.]

DEAR PRUE

I have yours of the 19th. I have done about the mention of Dimock and beleive you are in the right. The other Circumstance to be consider'd in y^r letter is about removing. You say I did not tell you I had resolved it when you left the Town. I did not my self Know it then, but y^r instructions to Me were Pall Mall, S^t James's Street, Gerard-Street, or a Place near a Church: Which last you will have. I am confident dayly intelligence of what passes at the Play House will be some Hundreds in my Way. And money is the main thing. Get I always could, but now I will get it and Keep it. Y^r Affair is to make and keep y^r self chearfull. You shall have nothing to do but to enjoy, it shall be my part to Labour and Gett.

I have had much Struggle by reason of ill payments and unreasonable Hasty Severe people; among the rest that Hagg Lady Vandeput.¹ I have paid Her to the end of last Quarter, and have given

serving his country by his riches." He sought out many men of ability, obscured by poverty, and induced them to exert their talents by high promises. "When any of them had contrived a handsome scheme, he would, in the hurry of his approbation, expend his whole cash to promote it; and at last, when the project was almost ready to repay with interest his trouble and charges, the hopes would be blasted for want of another ten pounds to complete the undertaking" (*Life of Bishop Hildesley*, by the Rev. Weldon Butler, 1790, pp. 178-185).

¹ Probably the Lady Vandeput, who died in December 1738, aged 84 (Hist. Reg., Chron. 49). She was the widow of Sir Peter Vandeput, Knight, who

Her warning, and can remove any time between this and Quarter day without paying more than this Quarter.

I shall on Michaelmas day have 59*l.* due to me; If I can find means to have that advanced I will pay off the Coach Horses quite, and have no Charge of Equipage of any kind till We are together again in London.

How can you let y^r Spirit sink so as to mind what people say whome you do not esteem: Be y^r self and reserve your best Self for, Dear Prue,

Y^{rs} Ever,

RICHARD STEELE.

I go tomorrow to Tunbridge with Dr. Garth to visit Lady Marleborough and the Duke so perhaps you may not have a letter by Tuesday's post, for I fear I shall not return till Wednesday.

The Duke of Marlborough had been seized with apoplexy in the preceding December, and was attended by Garth. Steele went down to Tunbridge on Sunday morning, and returned on Wednesday night, the 27th. Next day he wrote urging his wife not to give way to fancies about her health, but to bear up and expect good days. The Commissioners had resolved, when they parted, to meet at Edinburgh on the 10th of the next month; but this Steele could not do, for many reasons. Sir Harry Houghton would relieve him in the middle of November, if Steele hastened to Scotland at once; if not he must stay till the latter end of January, and that would break up all his measures.¹ Steele would have liked to travel by way of Wales, though he stayed there only two days, and he was confident he could ride thirty miles a day with ease. However, he proposed to use a chaise, as his wife suggested. Her opinion of these great points would be very welcome; also as to whether he should bring Madam Clark with him, to attend Lady Steele's journey.

died in 1708 (Wilford, 405). A Sir Peter Vandeput was appointed a Sheriff of London in 1684, doubtless the same as the Peter Vandeput described as living in Basinghall Street in the "Collection of the Names of the Merchants," &c., published in 1677. A Peter Vandeput, Esq., lived in Queen Square in 1715 (Registers of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square); and Sir Peter Vandeput, Bart., died in 1748. A Chancery suit was brought against Sir Peter Vandeput, Knight, and Dame Margaret, his wife, by Mrs. Ringrose, widow, in 1707 (Chan. Pleadings, Whittington, iii. 381).

¹ "Sir Richard Steele is preparing to go to Scotland with Commission from his Majesty" (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, August 31, 1717).

“Your daughter Betty, who is here two or three days for the holidays of Bartholomew-tide, desires to know whether I am writing to you or not; if I am, she desires her duty. Molly cannot endure any kindness I show this visitant, and I am not a little delighted to see a young lady jealous of my favour. If you and I were together, and all our children with us, I should never be a leisure moment out of my own house.” Benson was in town, and would take care of “the greatest concern of all,” the Fish Pool. If he got the half-year’s pay already due, Steele could leave town without any murmur against him. “God send us a happy meeting, and that the rest of our days may be free from debt!” From the next letter, which is undated, it appears that Lady Steele was very short of ready money. She loved Cowley, but she would value Steele’s promise to be always a quarter beforehand in future more than a paper of wit by her favourite author.

DEAR PRUE

The last I received from you, which was last night, had no date. It is indeed as You observe a strange life we lead, and the Separation is painfull to Me, for one reason more than it is to You.

If you think fit to go to the Bath, I cannot imagine but a Woman of Your estate will find freinds enough to raise as much money as will carry You thither.

I alter the manner of taking my Journey every time I think of it. My present disposition is to borrow what they call a Post Chaise, of the Duke of Roxburgh: ¹ It is drawn by one Horse runs on two Wheels and is led by a Servant riding by. This rider and Leader is to be Mr. Wilmot formerly a Carryer, who answers for managing on a road to perfection by keeping Tracks and the like. I think also at present to be off of my New House, and let things be as they are till We meet, when you shall Chuse for your self an house, Which I will like because You like it.

As to your desire of Contriving plenty of money, I have made a Bargain with our paymaster for so much, whether it is come out of the Treasury [or not], to pay always within ten days after Quarter day, from X^s next. So that We will not want any more. I shall contrive also to have a Quarter before hand. And never Let family Tick more, for Victualls, Cloaths or rent. I know this [is] better

¹ Secretary of State for Scotland.

talk to You than if it were a paper of Wit, written by your Beloved Cowley. But all shall, God Willing, be punctually performed by, Dear Prue,

Y^r Most Obsequious Husband
& Most Humble Ser^{nt}

RICHARD STEELE.

From a letter written on the 31st August, we learn that Steele had taken a house which had a fore-door, where a coach could set down at the threshold, in Hart Street, Covent Garden; and behind it was a little court, in which there was but one house, leading into King Street. There was no lease, and Wilks, who wished to buy it of the landlord, would take it over at any time. Lady Steele talked of the cheapest way, &c., to get to town, but such worrying about money troubled her husband; she should be contented with laying up all her estate, which he would enable her to do; she should be at no manner of charge for any of them, and they should be better provided for than any other family in England, for he would turn his expense and delight all that way. "Do not let me lose the right I have in a woman of wit and beauty, by eternally turning herself into a dun: Forgive the comparison. . . . Pray let it be otherwise; till you do, a thousand good qualities in you are (like a miser's wealth) mine without enjoyment." On the 12th September, Steele wrote that he might possibly join with two or three gentlemen, and hire a coach to Scotland for themselves. He was now obliged to leave Lady Vandeput's house, because she had another tenant, but his wife could stay in or leave the new house he had taken as she chose when she saw it. She signed herself "yours entirely;" this was a phrase easy to utter at a distance, but he feared that if they were together she would be at the same coy tricks. Yet he hoped that when they met he should banish all these for ever. On the 14th he wrote again from Hampton Court, where the King was residing.¹ Steele had been there over a fortnight, and he feared his wife would think he had become, what she mortally hated, a courtier.

¹ On September 12 the King dined in public at Hampton Court, and with him the Duke of Marlborough—who had returned to town two days before—and ten other noblemen (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, September 14, 1717).

“But being obliged to defer my journey for some days, I have taken it in my head to spend that little wit and humour which they say I have rather in the company of the greatest persons in the world (who, if they do me no other good, are cheaper conversation), than with such from whom I can neither reap experience or any other valuable thing, and by whom I daily impoverish myself.” Madame Vandeput had thoroughly nettled him by her usage, but he should move from her house next week. On the 13th Lady Steele wrote that she had an attack of gout. Steele replied that he would obey her orders, and not write peevishly; she must remember that they were rich, and must take the distemper peculiar to that circumstance in good part. A second charming letter to the same purport followed on the 20th.

MY DEAR PRUE

I have yours of the 16th and am heartily troubled that We share in a new calamity to wit having the same Distemper. Pray take care of Your self and you will find that We shall be in great plenty before another year turns round. My Dear Wife preserve Your self for him that sincerely Loves You, and to be an example to Your Little ones of Religion and Virtue. If it pleases God to blesse us together with life and Health, We will live a life of Piety and Cheerfull Virtue. Your Daughter Besse gives Her duty to you, and says she will be your comfort, but she is very sorry You are afflicted with the gout. The Brats my Girles stand on each side the table, and Molly says that what I am writing now is about Her new coat. Besse is with Me till she has new Cloaths. Misse Moll has taken upon Her to hold the sand-Box, and is so impertinent in Her office that I cannot write more;¹ But You are to take this letter as from y^r three best Freinds

BESSE, MOLL, and THEIR FATHER.

Eugene was very well this morning.

Sep^{br} 20th, 1717.

Moll bids me let you know that she fell down just now and did not hurt Her self.

Betty and Moll give their Service to Sam and Myrtle.

¹ This scene formed the subject of Eyre Crowe's picture, "Steele and his Children," of which an engraving is given in the *National Magazine*, vol. v., January 1859, p. 161.

In the next letter, written on the 24th, Steele promised never, directly or indirectly, to have anything to do with the Court; nothing was to be done with great men except by an idolatry towards them which it was below the spirit of an honest, free, or religious man to pay. His own studies at the theatre, Gillmore, &c., would be amply sufficient, without his stooping to servilities. "I have some reason to expect that the Royal Family itself would be glad to favour me; but there are many obstacles between poor me and them." The throwing away all pretensions from the Court might fortify him to be the more useful to his King and country in Parliament and everywhere else. Then comes the most important part of the letter. "Now let me answer to what you say, that I have not expressed any thing about a desire of our meeting again. There is nothing upon earth I wish so much, provided always that you will be what you ought to be to me, and not let me burn for what ought to be free to me, and that you will have the children in the house with us; for I am come to take great delight in them. When I return from Scotland we will never part more." The next letter was written three or four days later.

DEAR PRUE

I have Your agreeable letter of the 23rd instant, the first time you ever so much as alluded to any thing that Way. My Dear Wife Let us Strive to Improve and recommend our persons to each other. As for the 100*l.* a Quarter I have secured it during this Commission from X^{mas} next: For I have agreed with a Paymaster to let me have my sallary ten days after the Quarter shall become due, and have provided that this will be having a Quarter before hand for I shall be supported in Scotland by what is already due and not what is growing due. When We, once, come to endeavour mutually to please each other we shall succeed and be always in good humour. The Brats are all well and I am

Ever Truly Thine

RICHARD STEELE.

On the 30th September Steele wrote: "I am sorry you have spent your time so as that you are at a loss for credit enough to bring you from a place you dislike." He could not pay a quarter beforehand till Christmas, but from that instant he

thought they would be in as much plenty as any family in England. Gillmore, an inestimable jewel, was then with his family at Nettleton, eight miles from the Bath. The Commission in Scotland stood still for want of Steele; four must be in Edinburgh, and two only were there; three others were halting on the road, and would not go forward till Steele had passed by York. He had therefore taken places in the York coach for Monday next. On the 3rd October, however, he wrote that he feared he should be detained a day or two longer than he intended, for want of money. In another letter he said he would devote all his salary to family uses; "but you shall, if you please, leave the house-rent out of it, for I will spend on my children more than what is barely necessary. You are a coquet in the expression of 'setting aside the agreeableness of my person'—you well know no woman has a better." He wished she would resolve to keep a discreet, elderly woman to take care of the children. £843 were due to him; but he found he would have to pay heavily for money sufficient to enable him to leave the town, for it was known that he wanted it.

It is clear that Lady Steele's quarrels with some of her relations reached a climax at the end of September, and she planned an immediate return to London. On the 3rd October Steele wrote, that if he had known the incivilities she met with were so great, he would have come and persuaded her to remove where she might have been mistress. A day or two later he wrote again: "When we meet, I hope these kind of ails will be at an end for ever." "I observe that you are pleased that I do not remove till you come to town: I am very glad it is agreeable to you." In one letter (undated), he wrote: "I cannot but pity the way of life you are in, without one body to converse with whom you like;" and in another, ending, "I love you with all my soul, poor dear Prue, and am for ever yours," he expressed the rage he felt at the affronts from rude blockheads to which she was exposed. How was it possible that a woman of her sense could fall into a dispute with such idiots and savages? It was impossible to be easy with relations, who were often apt to think your being in the world an injury. They must seek protection and comfort in each other, with entire con-

fidence and a mutual complacency and desire to please each other. Mrs. Clark had shown airs which would make a mistress constantly uneasy ; Mrs. Keck should be consulted on this subject of a maid fit to go down to Wales. There should be a coach and six horses, with a discreet woman in it, to bring his wife to town. Among the Blenheim MSS. is a "Schedule of Leases granted on the Estate of S^r Richard Steele Knight and Dame Mary his Wife within the County and County Burrough of Carmarthen and when they will expire." From this paper, in Steele's writing, we learn that there were fifty-five leases in all, respecting twelve of which particulars are not given, and that the remaining forty-three brought in a total of £440. 19s. a year. The principal tenants were John Richard, Mr. William Roberts, Mr. Rob. Rees, Mr. Rees Harris, and Edward Lloyd. The majority of the leases commenced from Michaelmas 1717, and others from May 1717, from which we may conclude that they were negotiated while Lady Steele was in Wales ; perhaps the fact that so many leases were about to fall in was one cause of her journey. Two letters from Steele, dated October 15th and 17th respectively, relate principally to a certain mortgage. "I am giving extravagantly for money, but my resolution is to be rid of blood-suckers, though I lose a good deal at their last draught." The next letter is given here, but it may possibly relate to the preceding month.

DEAR PRUE

Yours lyes before Me I mean that of the 14th : I will add two Horses to y^r Equipage : I did not think of a Strange Woman, but because You named no one of Your Acquaintance ; I like Madam Clark as well as any body, and am glad she will go, for Your Children Heartily want You. I am Glad You resolve to live well on the road. As to the coldnesse on this Subject I answer very sincerely that Your Ladyship's coldnesse to Me as a Woman and a Wife has made me think it necessary to Supresse the expression of my Heart towards You, because it could not end in the pleasures and enjoyments I ought to expect from it, and which You oblig'd Me to Wean my self from, till I had so much money &c. and I know not what impertinence. God be thanked this Whimsey has not been fatall to our Love. It is impossible to Decline going to

Scotland, for ten thousand reasons, as well as regard to Honour and interest.

I am, Dear Prue, Ever Yours RICHARD STEELE.

I was going to close my letter when Betty and Moll desire their duty to You.

After, as he says, many resolutions and irresolutions as to his mode of travelling, Steele set out on the 21st October, by the Wakefield coach, on his way to York and Edinburgh.

VI.

IN SCOTLAND.

1717. ÆT. 45.

STEELE had travelled as far north as Stamford by the 23rd October. With a view of improving his French, he took with him a M. Majon, a French minister. "He lies in the same room with me on the road; and the loquacity which is usual at his age and inseparable from his nation at once contributes to my purpose and makes him very agreeable." In due course they reached Edinburgh, from whence Steele wrote to his wife on the 5th November, in reply to five letters from her which had followed him, and which he had received all at once that day. "One of the 21st approves my letter to Mr. John Thomas, and desires you may do what you shall think fit by fine, by way of reserving a respect from your children, and doing what you think fit with your estate in favour of such of your children as shall please you most. This is what I have often advised you to do, and shall never gainsay. . . . Your fourth is in very pleasant humour, which you say you can support, provided you do not want money, and you have bespoke gossips for your next child, &c. This is as it should be; keep up this spirit, and live and reign; you shall want nothing on my part towards it." Steele proposed to return to London the following week, and could come for his wife with a coach and six, accompanied by Mrs. Pugh, when Parliament adjourned after meeting. "If you like this, I think it will close your negotiations with a good air, and drown all impertinencies about us." On Monday the 11th November he wrote from Ayton, in Scotland, upon the third morning of his journey back to London; he hoped to reach

home on "Saturday come se'nnight." The whole journey would thus occupy a fortnight. On the 15th Pearce Bridge, Durham, was reached. In any case Steele meant to visit his wife's territories, so that he hoped she would permit his attending her back. But he was not yet to visit Wales, for on the 1st December his wife was on her way back. On Wednesday night, the 4th December, Steele wrote: "Yours of Sunday was very late notice of your arrival. Wilmot went to meet you that very day, but, lest you should escape him, I send Mr. Evans to meet you on the day you hope to come." Steele himself had spent the day in the House of Commons, where there had been a lively debate upon the motion for a supply for the army. On the 9th he spoke in support of Craggs and the proposals in the King's Speech, and in opposition to Walpole.¹ The letter of the 4th ended, "You come in smiles, and I will sacrifice all to your good humour." Next morning Steele added: "Temperance and your company, as agreeable as you can make it, will make life tolerable, if not easy, even with the gout. God give us a happy meeting!"

Steele was very well received in Edinburgh. "You cannot imagine," he wrote, "the civilities and honours I had done me there; and never lay better, ate or drank better, or conversed with men of better sense than there." Among others he doubtless visited Allan Ramsay, then a young man of thirty-one, at his shop, from whence issued from time to time poetical pamphlets which were widely bought by the people, and Ramsay would take Steele to some of the clubs, which at that time were very popular in Edinburgh. At one of these—the Easy Club, which had, however, recently ceased to exist—it was the rule for each member to assume a characteristic name, and Ramsay was at first called Isaac Bickerstaff, but he afterwards changed this to Gavin Douglas. In one of his poems he calls Steele "Kind Richy Spec, a friend to a' distressed."² The work of

¹ Steele spoke again on Craggs's side in a debate relating to officers on half-pay on January 22, 1718.

² *Robert, Richy and Sandy: A Pastoral on the Death of Matthew Prior, Esq.* Robert [the Earl of Oxford] says to Sandy [Pope] and Richy—

"Sandy, I'm eased to see thee look sae wan;
Richy, thy sighs bespeak the kindly man."

the Commissioners was of a painful and delicate nature, and in their official capacity they were certainly not welcome. But, as "Alexander Pennecuik, gentleman," put it in his *Streams of Helicon*, published in 1720, Scotia nevertheless smiled on Steele.

"With throbbing breast she dreads th' approaching ill,
Yet still she loves you, though you come to kill,
In midst of fears and wounds, which she doth feel,
Kisses the hurting hand, smiles on the wounding STEELE."¹

Steele had taken no active part in the proceedings of the Commission before this very short visit to Edinburgh in November 1717, though he did not omit to draw the salary. But it must not be forgotten that the post precluded the holding of any other official appointment,² and therefore, although the Commissioners seem to have had £1000 a year each,³ the position was not so

In *Richy and Sandy: A Pastoral on the Death of Joseph Addison, Esq.*, Richy says that Addison

"Had ay a good advice to gi'e,
And kend my thoughts amaist as well as me ;
Had I been thowless, vext, or oughtlins sow'r,
He wad have made me blyth in half an hour.
Kindly he'd laugh when sae he saw me dwine,
And tauk of happiness like a divine."

Other references to "dear Spec" and his works will be found in "The Morning Interview ;" "An Epistle to Mr. James Arbuckle," 1719 ; "To Mr. Joseph Mitchell," and "Reasons for not Answering the Hackney Scribblers, my Obscure Enemies."

¹ *Streams from Helicon*, p. 46, 2nd edition, 1720. "To Sir Richard Steele, One of the Commissioners of Enquiry for North Britain." The poem describes the great influence for good of the *Tatler*, &c. As for Steele's plays, says Pennecuik—

"Like Shakspear's Works, they'll flourish in old age.
Could Ben rise from his dust, he'd blush to see
How far out-done by Addison and Thee."

The writer of these verses, who died in 1730, is not to be confounded with an older writer of the same name, Dr. Alexander Pennecuik, who published a topographical description of Tweeddale in 1715, and a few poems, and died in 1722, aged 70. Dr. Pennecuik's "Works" were published at Leith in 1815. The younger Pennecuik referred to him in a poem, "To my honoured friend Dr. P——k, Author of the 'Description of Tweeddale, and Miscellany Poems.'"

² Page 127.

³ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. The charge of the Commission for 2½ years (24th December 1722 to 24th March 1725) was £19,938. 9s. 3d. (*The Final Report of the Commissioners*, 17th April 1725. Printed by order, 29th April 1725).

advantageous as would at first appear. The earliest mention of Steele seems to be his signature to a messenger's warrant dated 8th July 1716; the next is to a warrant to Francis Foote, Esqre., "our Sollicitor and John Harris our Clerke, to seize and keep possession of the late dwelling house of Thomas Stanley Esq^{re} of Fishergate, Preston, and all the household goods you shall find. 5th Octob^r 1716."¹ The latest signature appears to be to a paper dated 16th November 1722. Of the various reports of the Commissioners to Parliament that are in the British Museum, only one, presented to the House of Commons on the 18th January 1720, is signed by Steele.

The Commissioners found many difficulties in their way. The differences between Scotch and English law had not been properly taken into account in framing the Act, and the Court of Session interposed before the Commissioners began their labours, and appointed factors to collect the rents, for the benefit of creditors and others having claims on the forfeited estates first, and the Commissioners second. As these factors were in most cases friends, relatives, or agents of the forfeiting persons, the Commissioners could make little progress in their work of bringing in the rents and profits for the use of the public, and it was found necessary to obtain an Act of Parliament declaring the sequestrations of the Court of Session void. After that some progress was made, though the Court of Session constantly put impediments in the way.

Several stories relating to one or other of Steele's visits to Scotland may be mentioned here. He thought that he might effect a union between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, and with that object he had many fruitless conferences with Presbyterian ministers. One of them, James Hart, particularly attracted him. Hart was a man of great good humour in his private life, but when preaching "the terrors of the Law," he was wont to indulge in terrific denunciations. Steele called him "the Hangman of the Gospel."² Another story relates to

¹ Mrs. Wills's MSS. Mr. Wills's notice was called to papers in the Advocates' Library by his brother-in-law, Robert Chambers.

² The author of a little book called *A Treatise on the Second Sight*, "by Theophilus Insulenus," published at Edinburgh in 1763, who states that he collected instances of mystic phenomena in order to refute the prevalent

a certain square tower near Hoddom Castle, on the Annan, built by a Lord Herries when troubled by conscience respecting murders committed in a Border raid. Steele and his friends, riding past this place, found a shepherd-boy reading his Bible. In reply to Steele's question, What he learnt from it? the shepherd replied, "The way to Heaven." When Steele answered that they wanted to go to the same place; would he show them the way? the lad turned and said, "Weel, gentlemen, ye maun just gang by that tower." The tower, they found, was known as the "Tower of Repentance." The last anecdote is of a whim which Steele took while in Edinburgh to invite all the beggars and poor people who could be found in the streets to a grand feast. Steele sat at the head of the table, and briskly plied his guests with punch and wine, until, freed from care and restraint, they gave such loose to all their eccentricities and native wit that their host afterwards declared that, besides the pleasure of feeding so many empty bellies, he had learned from them humour enough to form a whole comedy.

Only two productions of Steele's were first printed in 1717. One was a Dedication, prefixed to an edition of the *Funeral* and the *Tender Husband*, to the Duchess of Hamilton, who had graciously requested that these plays should be acted, long after the run of them was over;¹ and the other was the Prologue to *Lucius*, a tragedy by Steele's old antagonist, Mrs. Manley. He appears to have forgiven her abusive allusions to him so entirely as to take a considerable interest in the play, which was dedicated, gives at p. 96 a letter of his own to the Rev. Donald Macqueen, minister in Skye (who accompanied Johnson and Boswell), in which he says: "What made me enquire more narrowly into that subject [second sight] was in consequence of a conversation I had with Sir Richard Steele, who engaged me to search for instances of it well attested, which if I took the trouble to send him, he would improve to confute those irreligious persons, whose system of faith is the same with that of the Sadducees mentioned in Holy Writ." (Note by Robert Chambers, among Mrs. Will's MSS.)

¹ One writer during this year spoke highly of Steele as a dramatist:—

"The Stage, said *Bruce*, yet feels a harder fate;
We see and mourn in vain its drooping state:

The Comic Muse with St...le and C.....ve fled:
Just strokes of humour St...le can best impart,
And picture human life with truest art."

(*Palæmon to Cælia, at Bath; or, The Triumvirate*, folio, 1717.)

cated to him. Preceded by a prologue by himself, and followed by an epilogue by Prior, the tragedy met with considerable success. Mrs. Manley said that the business of her dedication was only to do an act of justice. She knew no greater mortification than when she reflected upon the severities which had flowed from her pen, and she rejoiced in this public retribution. Steele's sincere endeavour to promote the reputation and success of her tragedy were infallible testimonies of the candour and friendship he retained for her. "I know you so well, that I am assured you already think I have, on this subject, said too much. . . . I shall say no more, trusting to the gallantry of your temper for further proofs of friendship; and allowing you, like a true woman, all the good qualities in the world now I am pleased with you, as well as I gave you all the ill ones when I was angry with you, I remain, with the greatest truth, Sir, Your most humble, most faithful and most obliged servant." Steele's prologue consisted of a version of Lee's receipt for a successful tragedy, the essence of which was that

"Something for all the people must be done,
And with some circumstance each order won."

Each part of the audience would then be pleased, and would think they owed it to the play. But the present author used no such low arts; her success depended on the just laws of Empire and of Love. And so, with a complimentary reference to the clemency of King George, "Heaven's Vicegerent," the prologue ends. Three years later, when announcing a forthcoming performance of *Lucius* for the benefit of the authoress, Steele took the opportunity of making a more formal apology for what he had written of Mrs. Manley.¹ "He (Steele) had the impatience to write something like satire in return to the liberties that ingenious lady took with him in certain of her writings. The anger of a woman, according to all rules of chivalry, is never to be returned, but abated by persuasion and submission. I look upon the secret effeminate malice that men without names now practise against him as a just judgment upon his unmanly conduct in contending with a woman." This is the last we shall hear of "Rivella;" she lived until 1724.

¹ *Theatre*, No. 26.

VII.

THE FISH POOL.

1718. *ÆT.* 45-6.

WITH the new year Steele became more and more absorbed in the Fish Pool scheme, and in February he presented the following Petition for a Patent: ¹—

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The Humble Petition of S^r Richard Steele

Sheweth That Your Petitioner has for some years past turn'd the intention and Bent of His Thoughts and Studies to the Good and Service of the Publick.

That He has from much Search, Enquiry, and conversation among Sundry Artists, Artificers, and Persons of Learning, at Great expence, invented a Certain Vessel, which, by the Structure thereof, can bring Fish, wherever caught, to any distant place Alive and in Health.

That the said Invention will Greatly contribute to the accommodation of the Rich, the releif of the Poor, and the Generall Good of All Towns and Cityes in y^r Majesties Dominions. That the said Contrivance is wholly New, and that it is truly asserted to be such appears from its being Notoriously known that as Gainfull as the Employment of such a vessel would be in Comparison of Common Well Boats, there is no such Vessel now made Use of, Or ever was in Use.

Your Petitioner therefore most Humbly prays Your Majestie's Grant and Licence by Letters Patent, that He may enjoy the Sole Benefit of His Said Invention Exclusive of All others, not claiming under Him, during Such Space, and Term of Years as y^r Petitioner may by Law be entitled Unto.

And y^r Petitioner shall Ever Pray etc.

RICHARD STEELE.

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Geo. I., Bdle. 14, No. 11, 1718.

WHITEHALL, 17th February 1717/8.

His Majesty is graciously pleased to refer this Petition to Mr. Attorney or Solicitor General to consider thereof & report their opinion what may be fitly done therein, whereupon his Majesty will declare his further Pleasure.

SUNDERLAND.

On the 10th March, Steele made the following affidavit:—

Sir Richard Steele of the Parish of St. James's Westm^r in the County of Middx Knight, maketh Oath That he this Depon^t hath from his own first conception and at his own expence found out and invented a New way or Method of making a Shipp or Vessell fitted by a constant Succession of Fresh Air Horizontally conveyed thereinto for y^e Conveying and preserving of Fish (tho' caught in parts ever so remote) alive and in as healthy and thriving a Condition as they would be were they to be still in the Sea and at large and so contrived as to be able to Live in any Sea and framed different from any Well Boat and from any other Shipp Vessell or Boat now or at any time heretofore used or approved of.

RICHARD STEELE.

On the 12th March, Northey, the Attorney-General, made his Report to the reference of Council. After reciting what Steele said, the Report proceeded:—

And in regard as I apprehend this will not in any Sort affect Ships for Navigation, And ffor that it will be at the hazard of the pet^r both as to his expence and trouble, whether his said Invention may have the Success he expects or not, And ffor that it may be reasonable for Your Matie to give Encouragement to all Arts and Inventions that may be of publick Use and benefit, I am humbly of Opinion Your Majesty may lawfully gratifie the pet^r according to the prayer of his said petition, if Your Matie shall be graciously pleased so to do. All which is most humbly submitted to Your Maties Royal Wisdom.

Accordingly, Letters Patent were granted on the 10th June to Steele, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for a term of fourteen years. The Patent was printed in full at the end of a pamphlet published on the 9th November¹ by Steele and Gillmore, *An Account of the Fish Pool*. This tract, which

¹ *Daily Courant*, November 7 and 19, 1718.

was dedicated to Sir John Ward, the Lord Mayor, described in detail the Fish Pool Vessel; the imperfection of the Well Boat hitherto used; the true reasons why ships become stiff or crank in sailing, with various improvements; and the construction of a carriage intended for the conveyance of live fish by land. Steele said that many impertinent observations had been uttered upon him in connection with the new invention, but for this he cared nothing, except that it might injure this great and good work. His part in it had been only a mere suggestion, or a lucky start, which owed its progress to being communicated to a more capable man, who ripened it into practice. Five years before, Steele, upon seeing some experiments with an air-pump, conceived a design for forming a vessel which should preserve dead fish from corruption longer than usual; but a gentleman whom he consulted convinced him of the impracticability of the project. His thoughts then turned in another direction, and becoming acquainted with Mr. Gillmore, he discussed with him whether the ordinary Well Boat could not be improved upon. A model was constructed, and satisfactory experiments were made at Temple Mills, the spot that divides Middlesex from Essex. In the Well Boat the water and air necessarily remained always unchanged; in the Fish Pool vessel the air and water flowed together, came into the ship horizontally, and passed through it in a constant succession. Fish would be cheaper, but the fishing trade would not suffer, because the number of consumers would increase to a still greater degree.

Among the Blenheim MSS. are several papers on this subject. One, not in Steele's writing, gives a list of English rivers, how they were to be entered, what ports were situated upon them, &c. "Besides Salmon there may be brought to London other valuable fish, as Turbott (but where that is catch'd I can't tell) Trout, Carp, Tench, Eels, &c." It would be necessary to get the privilege of the fishing, to agree with the fishermen for a certain price, and to engage them not to sell to any other persons. The way of taking the salmon must, too, be altered. Gillmore also wrote to Steele, with reference to the land-carriage, that he had considered how the fish

might be kept from being bruised one against another by the shocks of the carriage, and how it might be kept horizontal going up and down hill. There is also a paper, endorsed on the back by Steele, "Charges and Experiments in projecting and building The Fish Pool Sloop." The hull cost £400; two wings, £48. 6s.; sinking the deck, £140; wages, &c., of sailors for nine months, £210. 7s. The whole, including "Addionall Charges for y^e Voiage already Made," amounted to £1143. 10s. 4d.

In spite, however, of all the trouble and expense, and in spite of the ingenuity shown in the construction of the vessel, the scheme failed when brought into practice, owing to the fish battering themselves to pieces against the sides of the ship. Mr. Benson, as we have seen, was to bear the bulk of the expense, and Steele estimated that he could not in any case lose more than £100. But the scheme afforded a topic for the wits for some time to come. One of them, who used the initials "N.B.," published *A Letter to a Buttonian K * * ** "from Sir James Baker, Admirer-General of the Fair Sex, and late Secretary of the Toasts of the Kit-Cat Club. Containing some observations on 'Squire Budgell's Letter to the Lord * * *.'" This tract, chiefly an attack on Budgell,¹ begins thus: "Sir, At a time when your hands and your head are full; the first being hard at work on a new play now upon the stocks, in order to launch it as soon as possible, to check the progress of the French farce; the latter being intent upon improving that most excellent and late-invented Vehicle for preserving of Sprats, &c.; at such a time, I say," &c.; and further on the writer refers to a scheme of his for preserving tripe and sheeps'-trotters sweet and fresh for the inhabitants of the Spice Islands, and to the great offers he had refused from the D—ch, who traded to those parts, solely that his own country might enjoy the benefit of the invention. John Dennis and others indulged in jokes on the

¹ The "Letter to the Lord * * * from Eustace Budgell, Esq.; Accomptant-General of Ireland, and late Secretary to their Excellencies the Lords Justices in that Kingdom," is dated October 3, 1718, at the end, and this reply must therefore have been published after that date. Another reply, "Remarks upon a Letter from Eustace Budgell, Esq., to the Lord —," was published on the 21st November (*Daily Courant*).

same subject.¹ Dennis, writing of Steele and Cibber, says: "His purse and yours seem to be contrived like a certain Knight's Fish Pool; the purses let out gold, as the Fish Pool does water, as fast as they take it in."

Such are the generally known facts about the Fish Pool scheme, but many details of interest respecting the early months of the year 1718 are furnished by the pleadings in a Chancery suit commenced against Steele and Gillmore in July by John Sansome, who claimed a share in the profits of the new invention. Sansome was a schoolfellow of Steele's and Addison's,² and had lent Steele money while he was in the army. In 1705 Sansome had brought an action for the recovery of money thus lent in 1702.³ Afterwards he got into difficulties, and towards the close of 1717, when, after a long interval, the former friends met again, Steele engaged Sansome as a kind of secretary at a salary of £50 a year. It was in consequence of the assistance he then rendered that proceedings came to be instituted in the Court of Chancery. As it is doubtful what judgment, if any, was pronounced in the case, it will be best to give the pleadings, though they are lengthy, in their original form, but slightly abridged, in order that the reader may weigh the evidence for himself.⁴

John Sansome, Esq., of London, in his bill dated 29th July 1718, said that he was bred when a child at the Charterhouse School, and for the last three years of his being there on the foundation Steele was also a scholar on the same foundation. Sansome lived in much familiarity with and there contracted great fondness for Steele, which he maintained after school days; for, being transplanted to Cambridge, and thence soon afterwards brought by his father (then and many years before and after Secretary of the Customs) to be immediately under

¹ *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar*, Letters I. and II.; the *Anti-Theatre*, No. 10, March 25, 1720; *Theatre*, No. 11, February 6, 1720.

² A letter from Addison to Sansome, dated Paris, September 1699, thanking him for an introduction to Mr. Breton—"a gentleman who is in all respects such as I shou'd have guess'd Mr. Sansom's freind to have bin"—is given in Miss Aikin's *Life of Addison*, i. 69, 70.

³ Vol. I., pages 79, 83, 85, 137.

⁴ Chancery Proceedings, Reynardson, 1714-58, No. 2363.

himself in business of good repute and advantage, Sansome had the power and spirit also to be kind and generous to his friends, and among others he served and relieved Steele, when his occasions very pressingly wanted it, with several large sums of money sufficient alone handsomely to have subsisted a gentleman of a regulated expense; and this he continued to do till Steele had wrought himself into some footing in the army, and great favour with the late Lord Cutts, and stood no longer in need of assistance. But though Sansome had (with Steele's knowledge) lain under very distressed and calamitous circumstances for ten years, brought upon him by the failure of remitters, the fraud of clerks, and the unkind behaviour of those, Steele among the rest, who were taken to be friends, and to whom, as such, he had lent great sums of money, yet Steele had been so far from returning him any manner of help that till November 1717 he never attempted to assist him at all in a friendly manner, and never returned even the money Sansome had so generously and early lent him, until compelled to do so by the last remedies in law, viz., extents and executions, and that too in such a way that no part thereof ever came home to Sansome's personal succour or service. In November 1717, being at the Tennis Coffee-House in the Cockpit, Whitehall, about his affairs, Sansome fell into company with one Captain Rogers,¹ who was bred a navigator, and had since gone as Governor of the Bahama Islands, and while they were sitting together Steele came into the room, intending to see Captain Rogers, but finding Sansome in company the conversation grew into ease and familiarity, and turned upon the subject of trade and navigation, and Sansome, having been conversant with these matters from his very early years, gave his opinion thereon with much openness and freedom, and in such a manner that Steele expressed himself to be very agreeably entertained therewith. And next day, at the same Coffee-House, the person at the bar gave Sansome a letter which she said had been left there by Steele, in whose handwriting it was. It was dated 11th November 1717: "Dear Jack, I take it very ill of you that you could think so meanly of me, to whom you have done ten thousand

¹ For Captain Woodes Rogers, see pp. 195, 196, below.

good offices, as never in the course of your perplexities to employ or make use of me in your service. I desire to know your affairs, and I shall to my utmost ability manifest myself your servant with my purse, my interest, and my time. RICH. STEELE."

The intimacy being then renewed, Steele prevailed with Sansome to assist him in the regulation of his own private affairs, and often expressed a desire to engage him in the same undertakings and interests with himself; and some discourse happening touching the building of a vessel or vessels for the better bringing fish alive into the kingdom, Steele desired Sansome to assist him with his skill therein, and to induce him to do so, proposed that Sansome should have an equal share with himself of the profits of the project; and Steele made similar proposals as regards other designs in which he was then engaged, and prevailed with Sansome to quit engagements which might have been of very great advantage to him, in order that he might have leisure to assist in those undertakings, assuring him that he would derive much benefit from them. They frequently conversed about the fishing-vessel, and Mr. Joseph Gillmore having some knowledge in affairs of that nature, they had a meeting with him in January last at the Mews Chocolate House, near Charing Cross,¹ to confer together about the framing of the fishing-vessel; and Steele then, in Sansome's presence, told Gillmore that Sansome had learning and a head usefully turned to practical business, and that he (Steele) relied entirely on him, and would be concerned in nothing without him, and the like, and therefore left it to Sansome to confer with Gillmore about the vessel, and as Sansome should approve thereof, so he, Steele, would be concerned and proceed therein.

Accordingly Sansome and Gillmore had several meetings together at Button's Coffee-House, and fully discussed the whole scheme; and adjourning from thence and going to another Coffee-House in the Piazza, Covent Garden, Sansome there, in Gillmore's presence, made up the account in writing of the building and dimensions of the new fishing-vessel and

¹ The King's Mews stood where Trafalgar Square now is.

the charge of executing the undertaking thereof, and Gillmore approving of it, Sansome left him, saying he would acquaint Steele how far they had proceeded. This he said, saying that he could assuredly make the project do, and to very great profit. Steele expressed himself extremely satisfied and pleased; but Parliamentary affairs taking up the greater part of his time, and Sansome's time being also occupied on Steele's account, they had not an opportunity of having an immediate interview with Gillmore; and Gillmore, growing uneasy, desired Sansome to bring Steele to declare himself, and settle matters in some certain way in relation to the vessel, for, he said, his skill and time were his livelihood. Steele being made acquainted with this conversation, arranged that they should meet Gillmore the following night at the Mews Chocolate House. Sansome and Gillmore happening to come to the appointment before Steele, who had dined that day, after a late breaking up of the House of Commons, at the Green Cloth, Gillmore asked Sansome whether he had well weighed and considered the intended undertaking since their former meeting, and Sansome having assured him that he still approved of it, and that it would certainly take effect in the manner he had previously agreed and settled, Gillmore said that he took Steele to be a well-natured man, but what between Parliamentary and other affairs, his time was so taken up that he apprehended him to be but in a sorry way to engage in this undertaking, and that he should despair of seeing any effect of it if it were left to Steele's management; he had therefore rejoiced at Sansome being concerned in it, and said Sansome could not take this for flattery, because he remembered him a manager of affairs of a much higher kind. Gillmore added that though Sansome had lost a fortune, yet he had not lost any credit; and he said that he wished Sansome had been concerned with him in other affairs, and particularly that of finding out the longitude. Of this Gillmore was about to impart the chief secret, but Sansome would not hear it, knowing Gillmore to be already engaged with other persons therein; but said that as to the matter before them Gillmore might be easy, for he (Sansome) would have the direction of it. Gillmore answered

that all was then safe, and as he wished it, for he himself could not stay in town, nor in any sort duly attend to the undertaking, and that he knew enough of Steele and his temper to be assured that he neither could nor would do it, and that the cure of both these evils would be Sansome's embarking therein. And, finally, Gillmore added that if the project was well executed, it had a broad bottom out of which Sansome's knowledge and care might and would make fortunes for all the three, while Steele and Gillmore lived at ease in other respects; and this, considering Steele's circumstances, Gillmore could not but look upon as a piece of great good luck and accommodation. And while they were thus talking Steele arrived, and owned himself to have ate and drank too plentifully to be fit for any business, and he therefore fixed a then coming evening, at Kensington, for settling all matters between them relating to the vessel.

At that meeting at Kensington measures were fully concerted for going into the undertaking, to the satisfaction of all parties, and it was agreed that as Steele was a member of Parliament, and alleged he had great interest at Court, and could therefore more probably and easily obtain a grant or patent for the sole privilege and use of the new vessel—of which he also desired that he might have the credit of being the inventor—the intended patent should pass in his name, and when obtained should be in trust and to and for the equal benefit and advantage of Steele, Sansome, and Gillmore in partnership; and that Steele should be at the charges and expenses of passing the patent, and of making the new vessel, and that the said parties should advance and propagate the joint interest and success of the undertaking; for which purpose Sansome should forthwith give instructions for drawing proper Articles, which should be punctually executed by the parties. But that there might be no delay in obtaining the patent, Sansome, by agreement of all parties, drew up a petition to His Majesty in Steele's name, which petition was transcribed by Steele, and soon afterwards delivered to one of the Secretaries of State, and referred to the Attorney-General. And in pursuance of the agreement at Kensington, Sansome

gave instructions to Mr. Newton Stagg, attorney, to prepare a draft of Articles between him and Steele and Gillmore. This Stagg did, and Sansome sent the draft to Gillmore to be perused and amended as he thought proper; and by his letter of the 24th February last Gillmore appointed a meeting next morning at the Coffee-House in the Piazza, and said that in the meantime he would peruse the Articles.

This meeting was made by Gillmore as well to consult and advise as to the perfecting of the vessel as to settle about the Articles. At Gillmore's request a clause was added to prevent any of the parties admitting any person to a share in the undertaking without consent of the other parties; for Gillmore, as he told Sansome, feared Steele would let in a certain person whom he named, of whom he expressed great fear and dislike. When Stagg had inserted this clause, a fair copy was sent to Steele, who approved the Articles without amendment, save one made in the margin of the first sheet, as follows:—Words expressing in the preamble that “A having conceived that an engine might be made wherein the water received in a ship might be limited and kept out, so as that the said inlet of water should be as the lading is to another vessel, and admit accordingly air and water in the manner hereafter described, and having applied to B and C for their skill and assistance, the said machine, by this joint labour, knowledge, and counsel, has been accordingly made practicable;” by A being meant Steele, and by B and C Sansome and Gillmore. This copy of the draft Articles—now in Court—was then by joint consent returned to Stagg to be engrossed. Gillmore afterwards declared to several persons that he was engaged in partnership with Steele and Sansome in an undertaking which would be £1000 a year profit to each of them, and expressed a great respect for Sansome. Steele, when asked by the Attorney-General to point out how the new vessel differed from the ordinary Well Boats, was unable to do so, though Sansome thought he had fully prepared him on this point. Thereupon Sansome insisted that Steele should no more attend the Attorney-General on that occasion, and he instructed Stagg so as to enable him to satisfy the Attorney-General that the vessel was a new invention, and this Stagg

did, at Steele's desire. And as Steele had not made out the necessary affidavit, Stagg prepared one, and at Steele's request, Sansome perused and amended it, Steele not being able to swear that "by his own study, industry, and invention" he had found out the way of making the vessel, whereupon these words were struck out. The amended affidavit was afterwards sworn by Steele before Mr. Ellis, Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, and then given to Stagg, who took it to the Attorney-General, by whom a report was made, on the 12th March, in favour of Steele's application, to Steele's great joy.

Three parts of the Articles were then engrossed, and by appointment the parties met on the 24th March at Steele's dwelling-house in St. James's Street, and the Articles being read by Stagg, and the parties agreeing to them, the dates were filled in and the seals put thereto. The Articles were to the effect that Steele having conceived that a vessel might be made, &c., and having applied to Sansome and Gillmore for their skill and assistance, the vessel was, by the joint labour, knowledge, and counsel of Sansome and Gillmore, made practicable, and that Steele had then petitioned His Majesty for Letters Patent in his name, but nevertheless to and for the use and benefit of all the three parties; and Steele was in trust to and for the equal benefit of all parties; and the parties were not to assign their interests in the concern, nor should any person be admitted to the undertaking or be employed therein without consent of all the parties thereto first obtained under their hands and seals. Mutual bonds of the penalty of £3000 for the due performance of these covenants, being ready engrossed by Steele's direction, were then read over; but Gillmore objected, and refused to execute the same, though till then he had not cavilled, and said he must advise with a lawyer of his own. One part of the engrossed Articles was therefore delivered to him, and he took it away. Steele then apologised for Gillmore refusing to sign, saying he was an humorous man, and would have his own way, but would execute the Articles another time; and that he himself was then ready to sign, but that it was better they should all sign together; and then he said to Stagg, "Pray do not let this delay your going on to procure the patent, for it shall

be the same thing amongst us as if we had now executed the Articles;" and after some talk, Sansome and Steele parted very friendly.

Sansome, not being very well at that time, went out of town, and not hearing from Steele further, wrote on the 1st April; and the letter, which was sent as soon as it was day that morning, was delivered at Steele's house before he was up. The letter demanded the execution and performance of the Articles; and upon receipt of it Steele came that very morning to the house where Sansome was, and said that the Articles should certainly be executed, but prayed for a few days' patience, because Gillmore was busy framing a model of the vessel. Steele dined with Sansome, and visited him on several following days at the same place, and they talked of the vessel; and Steele desired Sansome to get him a lodging in the same house, and on Sunday evening, the 6th April, Steele and his lady came, and remained in the house till the 19th, during which time Steele got Sansome to instruct him as to the vessel, and to inform him in the knowledge of maps, charts, &c., particularly such as it was necessary to be skilled in to carry out the undertaking, all which things Steele professed to be, and appeared to be, ignorant of.

After he had learned all this, Steele left Sansome, who was ill, on the 19th April, without any notice, and Sansome then wrote to Stagg, telling him to detain the bill, and to stay all proceedings till Steele should make a specific performance of the agreement by executing the Articles; and Steele, being told of these instructions by Stagg, applied to Mr. Justice Eyre about the 12th May for a summons requiring Stagg to attend at Mr. Justice Eyre's Chambers the next afternoon to show cause why he refused to deliver the bill to Steele. Upon this summons Stagg attended, as did Sansome, with his solicitor, Mr. Capper, Steele, and his attorney, Mr. Close, and Gillmore; and the judge, hearing all parties, and it appearing to him that Stagg was employed jointly by them all, said Stagg could not part with the bill without the consent of all the parties. Stagg, desiring to be quit of it, then offered to deliver it upon payment of what was due to him, as the parties should agree on. This Mr.

Justice Eyre thought reasonable, and it was agreed by all parties, in his presence, at Steele's instance, that the bill should be put into Capper's hands for the purposes then agreed on, which were reduced to writing by the handwriting of Steele and Mr. Justice Eyre, and then fairly transcribed by Stagg and executed by all parties.

The writing was to the effect that Steele, Sansome, and Gillmore agreed to the bill being placed in Capper's hands to be passed into a patent, without prejudice to the claim of either of the parties. And Sansome believed that Steele and Gillmore would abide by their agreement. But now, conspiring to defraud Sansome, they gave out that he was not in any way entitled to a share in the profits arising from the vessel; that they never agreed to his having an equal share, &c. The bill was delivered to Capper on the 14th or 15th May last, and Steele not only delayed to reimburse to Capper money already expended by him, and to advance such other money as was necessary for perfecting the patent, but, in conjunction with Gillmore, privately employed workmen to erect or build the newly invented vessel without Sansome's consent or privity (though it was from him that Steele learnt his knowledge), believing that Sansome could not properly prefer his bill in the Court of Chancery till the grant had fully passed the seals; which was not only a manifest breach of the agreement made and directed by Mr. Justice Eyre, but a contrivance to be beforehand with Sansome in framing the vessel, and to prejudice and destroy Sansome's interest in the patent. But Sansome was advised that the Articles being an express declaration of trust, he had as good a right, title, and interest of, in, and to the benefit of the patent as if his name had been actually inserted therein, and as if the Articles had been executed by all the parties. But Steele and Gillmore refused to execute the Articles, and gave out that they would carry out the undertaking to the exclusion of Sansome, who therefore now prayed that writs of subpoena might issue against Steele and Gillmore to compel them to answer the matters contained in this bill, and to abide the decision of the Court.

Such was Sansome's bill. On the 14th October the defen-

dants obtained a fortnight's leave for putting in their answers, on the ground of the length of the complainant's bill, and because it required an account of several matters transacted long since.¹ Steele's answer was, accordingly, put in on the 28th October 1718. It will be seen that it throws a different light on some of the transactions already recorded.

Steele said it was true that he and Sansome were at the same time scholars at the Charterhouse School, and on the foundation, and that they there contracted an early friendship. Sansome was transplanted to Cambridge, and Steele was elected from the School and transplanted to Oxford, where he continued for several years, and afterwards became an Ensign in one of the Regiments of Foot Guards of the late King William the Third of ever glorious memory, in the Company of the late Lord Cutts, Colonel of the said Regiments, with whom Steele was in the highest favour, and employed as his Lordship's Secretary when he was Governor of the Isle of Wight, and in many other of his Lordship's affairs of importance, in the transacting of which Steele so well discharged the trust reposed in him that his Lordship admitted him into his conversation with great freedom, and that with as much delight as a man could take in a son or brother. Besides this introduction into the world Steele was under the care and support of his relations, who were persons of quality and in good circumstances. It was in these conditions that he and Sansome first renewed their old school acquaintance; and Sansome at several times supplied Steele with small sums of money which in several years amounted to about £350. Soon afterwards Steele was made Captain of Foot by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough—in pursuance of a List made by King William—in the Lord Lucas's Regiment of Foot; at which time also Sansome was made Collector of Bristol, a place of great benefit; and in that advancement of his fortune, and with no reason of change towards Steele, Sansome insisted on immediate payment of what was due to him, and obliged Steele to become creditor to him as Collector of Bristol for the said sum; by which means and the aid of the Crown Sansome prosecuted Steele to the utmost extremity by

¹ Chancery Decrees, 1717, B. 453.

suing out extents against him, to his great charge and loss of preferment, though Sansome was then in much better circumstances than when he lent the money. In order to pay, and to avoid being arrested on such extents, Steele assigned all or the greatest part of his pay as Captain to Sansome, by which means Sansome received all his debt and charges long before he had the misfortune to fail, except about £50 or £60 which, with the subsequent charges, Steele paid to the Crown, Sansome then being debtor to the Crown in a very large sum of money as Collector of Bristol. And Sansome, being under prosecution of the Crown for such money as he was debtor for to the Crown, absconded for several years, and Steele, though he made inquiry with a sincere intention to serve him all that was in his power to do, could not find out where he was.

Several years thus passed before they met so as to discourse together, till in October or November 1717 Steele went (as he often did) into the Tennis Court Coffee-House, and there found Sansome and Mr. Rogers together, and for what Steele remembered to the contrary such discourse might happen as was set forth in Sansome's bill. Steele, observing Sansome's countenance, dress, and figure to be very mean and unlike his former appearance, could not, notwithstanding the ill-treatment he had before received, forget the former affection that there was between them, and therefore resolved to do all that was in his power to relieve Sansome, and in order to renew the good correspondence that was formerly between them he wrote the letter quoted in Sansome's bill, and also other letters, including one enclosing money. As a result of these advances, made out of pure compassion, Sansome some short time afterwards called upon Steele at his house in St. James's Street, and falling into a very free conversation, Steele pressed Sansome to give him a true state of his affairs, and promised to assist to the utmost of his power. Sansome replied that his circumstances had for some time been deplorably indigent, and that he only obtained the means of subsistence through the favour of friends, and that he was unsafe as to his liberty, as a great sum was still due to the Crown, and as he was indebted in several sums to private persons. He hoped,

however, speedily to avoid all prosecution at law by being admitted a servant or domestic to some foreign Minister. He said, too, that he hoped to be soon engaged with a person he then named (whose name Steele had forgotten) in affairs of importance and benefit, into which he proposed to admit Steele; but Steele did not trouble to inquire what these affairs were, believing that Sansome said this only from shame, which made him impatient of receiving the great benefits which Steele proposed to do to him without being able to do anything on his part. Steele proposed that Sansome should become his clerk and manager, not only of his domestic affairs, but also all other matters Steele should think fit to employ him in, and at the same time should appear as a friend and companion. Sansome was to have fifty guineas a year, to be paid weekly, by which means he would be handsomely subsisted, and protected from some of the prosecutions of which he stood so much in fear.

This offer Sansome readily accepted, with many expressions of gratitude; and thenceforward acted as Steele's servant to all intents and purposes. And Steele, having at that time many affairs of importance to transact, and being obliged to attend the House of Commons daily, recommended Sansome in the strongest terms to Gillmore, in order that Gillmore might be as free and unreserved with Sansome as with himself in all matters relating to the projection of the Fishing Vessel and the trade thereon depending; and several times he sent Sansome to confer with Gillmore on the subject, and told him to report to him what passed at such meetings; and among these meetings might be the one in January last mentioned in Sansome's bill. Sansome was of some use in thus discoursing with Gillmore, as Steele had not then leisure time; otherwise Steele would not have given him such large wages, and also, as he did, repaid all the money he expended at the several meetings at taverns and other public-houses. Steele often spoke to Sansome of the vessel, and asked his opinion of it when they were alone; but the vessel was invented by Steele long before he renewed his acquaintance with Sansome, and no alteration of or addition to the vessel was made by the advice of Sansome, who acted merely as an intelligent messenger to supply Steele's want of time to attend Gillmore.

Steele endeavoured to make Sansome entirely safe and easy as to his person in going about these affairs, and he solicited the Commissioners of the Customs, and more particularly Sir Matthew Dudley and Sir John Stanley, to favour Sansome as much as possible, and rather to promote as far as in their power the method of payment Sansome had proposed to make to the Crown than proceed in the wasteful way they were then in by extending Sansome's estate wheresoever any part could be found. And Sansome, being Steele's hired servant at so extraordinary wages, was bound to do everything reasonable for Steele, and to give his best advice as to the management of whatever Steele employed him in; and therefore Steele directed him to attend Gillmore at the Mews Chocolate House, and another meeting was appointed at Kensington. Sansome made himself so useful in drawing up the Petition for the Fish Pool Patent, and in other ways, that Steele's affection for him grew, and he resolved, as far as in his power was, to restore Sansome's broken affairs, and to make him easy in the world; and therefore, at the meeting at Kensington, he proposed to Gillmore that Sansome should be admitted sharer to a third part of what should be obtained by the invention, to which Gillmore, after some hesitation, replied that the invention was Steele's, and the projection was to be carried on at Steele's sole expense, and therefore he would act as Steele thought fit; whereupon Steele directed Sansome to employ some person he thought capable to draw up Articles of Agreement between all the parties.

Sansome employed Mr. Stagg, who prepared a draft, which was shown to Steele, who, out of kindness to Sansome, and not on account of Sansome's projecting or in any way contributing to the invention, made amendments to the draft, as shown in Sansome's bill, to enable Sansome to enjoy his share without dispute. When the Attorney-General wanted to know the differences between the new vessel and the Well Boats, Steele explained the matter in a long letter, which he was well able to do without Sansome's instructions, as is frivolously and unjustly set forth in Sansome's bill. It might be true that Sansome instructed Stagg, which was no more than his duty, he being Steele's servant;

and Stagg, as Steele's attorney, attended and solicited the Attorney-General, and might draw up for Steele the affidavit referred to. Steele caused the words "his own study, industry, and invention" to be struck out of the affidavit. Gillmore only invented the frame or model. The affidavit was then sworn to, and sent to the Attorney-General; and on the 24th March all the parties and Stagg met at Steele's house in St. James's Street, when the Articles were read, and bonds for the performance of the covenants prepared for execution; but Gillmore, as the Articles were reading, took offence at the description of particular duty laid on him, and said the Articles were not drawn up according to direction. Steele replied that this was basely said, and then Gillmore refused to execute the Articles, and left the company, though Steele followed him to the door and tried to prevail on him to sign. And when he had several times afterwards urged Gillmore, without success, to give way, Steele proposed to Gillmore by Articles with him to accept of a certain annual sum out of the profits, to which he agreed, the residue to be wholly at Steele's disposal; whereby Steele, out of his wonted good-will to Sansome, and out of compassion to his reduced means, proposed to Sansome to make it more advantageous to him than if he had actually been admitted by those Articles into a third part of the profits; and at the same time gave no offence to Gillmore.

After this last meeting Sansome did not attend Steele as formerly he used to do, though Steele maintained the same regard for him and his interests; and therefore, fearing Sansome would take too deeply to heart Gillmore's refusal to take him into partnership, and having received Sansome's letter saying where he was to be found, Steele at once went to his lodgings at a village called Stockwell, and there he stayed and dined, and might tell Sansome that Gillmore was then busy in framing a model of the vessel, and that when he was at leisure he would endeavour to prevail upon Gillmore to execute the Articles; but notwithstanding all Steele's good-will, Sansome showed by his discourse that he entertained a jealousy that Steele had changed his good intentions, and had persuaded Gillmore not to sign. Notwithstanding, however, this jealousy, Steele, out of

affection to Sansome and in order to quiet his mind in that particular, took lodgings, with his wife, then big with child, and some part of his family, in the same house with Sansome, and there they continued till about the 19th April, during which time Steele and Sansome often conversed about the vessel, to a share in which Steele still meant to admit Sansome; but the latter was still uneasy in his mind, and with difficulty kept his resentment within bounds.

One day they and Steele's servant went on horseback to Greenwich, and in a Chocolate House there Steele and Sansome sat down to a small bowl of punch, and suddenly Sansome broke out, charging Steele with ungenerous conduct, particularly in that he had, contrary to promise, acquainted Lady Steele with the pension or wages Sansome received. This Steele with great truth denied, but Sansome continued in his menacing and challenging air, to all which Steele returned soft answers; but Sansome was most of the evening in a posture of readiness to strike. Steele, continuing two or three days longer, did all he could to pacify Sansome, who, however, grew worse, and took all opportunities of Steele's absence to suggest to Lady Steele (then with child) the danger that would attend any person who should so much as offer to use Sansome ill, which being greeted with contempt by the lady, Sansome at other times, under pretence of friendship, would hint to Steele that the conduct of his wife might lead him into disasters and obligations to answer for her freedom of expression. Observing the secret fright into which Sansome's expressions brought his wife (notwithstanding her seeming neglect), and finding his patience almost wearied out, Steele feared what might happen from his longer stay there, and accordingly returned to town in despair of ever being able to live with Sansome for the future in peace, and resolved not to employ him any more, or to admit him into partnership, where it was evident he could not be useful. While Steele lodged with Sansome they might peruse and discourse upon maps which happened to be in the house, but Sansome gained as much from Steele's knowledge and experience as Steele did from his. Sansome had no pretence to a share in the Patent.

When he learnt that Sansome had sent to Stagg to return the

Patent in his hands, and to stay all further proceedings thereon, Steele, finding Stagg to be so much in Sansome's interest as to follow those unjust directions, did by himself and his attorney, about the 12th May, apply to Mr. Justice Eyre, and the result was, as stated in Sansome's bill, that it was agreed that Mr. Capper should proceed to obtain the Patent. But Steele did not apprehend that by the Note then signed by him and Gillmore, Sansome's right to any share in the new vessel or in the Patent was acknowledged. Steele wrote several letters to Sansome, the contents of which he could not set forth, but they might be to the purport mentioned by Sansome. He humbly hoped that as his intention of admitting Sansome to a third share was wholly out of good-will, which good-will had been forfeited, he would not be compelled to execute the Articles or to admit Sansome to any share of the profits of the vessel, which had now been finished at Steele's sole cost, amounting to near £800. If Capper would deliver up the Patent, Steele was ready and willing to pay him all his just charges.

Lastly, we have Gillmore's answer, dated, like Steele's, October 28, 1718. After saying he knew nothing of the earlier relations between Sansome and Steele, Gillmore stated that for about five years past he had been familiarly conversant with Steele, and under particular engagements for perfecting some inventions of moment to the public. Steele frequently mentioned to him, as a mathematician, a design which he and Steele had conceived, that a skilful mechanic might make a vessel through which the water would pass and be all its lading except fish; which discourse Gillmore then looked upon as a little too volatile, and therefore did not consider of it; but about September 1717, a month or two before Gillmore knew or spoke to Sansome, Steele by letter proposed the same again, and pressed Gillmore to draw a plan of such a vessel.

Accordingly, on the 5th or 6th October, Gillmore drew a practical scheme or model, which was approved by Steele, who, about the 1st June last, gave directions for building such a vessel. And some time in January last Gillmore met Steele and Sansome at the Mews Chocolate House, and Steele said Sansome was a man of learning, and might be useful in concerting measures (in his

own absence) for carrying on the fishing trade intended by the new vessel, and that for want of leisure time he appointed Sansome to discourse with Gillmore on the subject; but Gillmore did not remember that then or at any time Steele said he entirely relied on Sansome, and would be concerned in nothing but what he approved of. Gillmore and Sansome met several times at Button's, but these discourses did not lead to any alteration in the scheme. The design was all along carried on and completed at Steele's sole charge, with a very generous allowance from him to Gillmore and a servant; the expense was at least £700.

It was true that Gillmore and Sansome went from Button's to another Coffee House in the Piazza, Covent Garden, where Sansome, not from his own skill, but by Gillmore's directions, might put into writing and figures the account of the dimensions of the vessel and the charge of completing the undertaking, which Sansome did, as Gillmore apprehended, by the direction of Steele, whose time was taken up with affairs of far greater importance, and who could not therefore at once proceed to the perfecting of the scheme. At this, Gillmore, whose livelihood depended on such affairs, was very uneasy, and might apply to Sansome, who had more leisure time and greater opportunity of seeing Steele, to request Steele to say whether or not he meant to proceed with the vessel. Sansome accordingly spoke to Steele, and a meeting was arranged at the Mews Chocolate House, but Steele came late; and Gillmore might tell Sansome that he was glad Steele had employed so sensible a person to meet him, and that by being diligent Sansome might be of great use in carrying on the trade with the fishmongers; and that in regard to the great character Steele had given of Sansome, he (Gillmore) would as soon discover the secret of the longitude to him as any person; but Gillmore denied that he offered to communicate the chief secret thereof, or that he said he could not stay in town to superintend the undertaking of the new vessel; on the contrary, the vessel was built and completed by Gillmore's sole direction, in the completing whereof there was a great secret without which the vessel would be useless, and which secret Sansome did not know. Gillmore, recognising that Steele had first thought of the vessel, and that he allowed him and his servant a very satisfactory

salary and treated him with much kindness, civility, confidence, and friendship, left the question of terms entirely to Steele's good-will and generosity, and therefore out of respect for Steele (though not without dissatisfaction), he agreed, at the meeting at Kensington, to admit Sansome to such a share in the new vessel as Steele thought fit, and it was agreed that the Patent should be obtained in the name of Steele, the real inventor, and that it should be for the equal benefit of Steele, Sansome, and Gillmore. Articles were added, at Gillmore's request, to prevent any of the parties admitting others to share the profits, especially Steele, who, Gillmore feared, might, out of his wonted good nature, without any consideration admit some other person, as he was about to do Sansome. Gillmore was only just then acquainted with Sansome's unhappy circumstances, and he saw that inconvenience might arise through his being an insolvent debtor to the Crown for a large sum, and through his being too expensive for one in his circumstances.

However, Gillmore went to Steele's house to execute the Articles, but when he read them he found that he was by them to be employed in a laborious way, different from either Steele or Sansome, and tied down by bonds in so great penalty as £3000 for performance to Sansome, who was in reduced circumstances, and had not contributed by skill or money to the project. All this made Gillmore uneasy, which Sansome perceiving, he very much affronted Gillmore (while Steele and the attorney were reading or arguing on the Articles) with menacing looks and gestures, which made Gillmore so indignant that he immediately expressed himself ill-treated, and the rather because, as he said, the Articles were not engrossed according to directions. Stagg replied warmly that Gillmore spoke very basely; whereupon Gillmore left the room, saying he would be well advised before he signed the Articles, and took one part away with him. At that time, and often since, Steele importuned him to execute the Articles, but he refused, and trusted he would not be obliged to take Sansome into partnership. Steele then proposed to settle on Gillmore a very considerable yearly allowance out of the profits, without any writings being executed by or between them; but before the instrument for this allowance could be prepared,

Steele, about the end of April or the beginning of May, came to Gillmore's lodgings, and told him, with great concern, that notwithstanding all his kind intentions to restore Sansome's broken fortune, Sansome had written a letter to Stagg to stop the passing of the Patent till his claim should be settled, pretending that he was the main person concerned in inventing the vessel, and using words as if he had out of his good-will permitted Steele to bring in a third person—meaning Gillmore—to be a sharer with them in the project. Steele then applied to Mr. Justice Eyre, and eventually, as already related, all the parties signed an order for the bill to be handed over to Capper. But Gillmore insisted that by the signing of this order he did not admit that Sansome had any right to a share in the vessel, much less determine the same in Sansome's favour; he only intended by subscribing the Note that the bill should be put into Capper's hands to pass it into a Patent, that no time might be lost; the matter of right was left where it was before. Gillmore might have declared in conversation that he was concerned in an undertaking with Steele which might be of considerable value to both, but he did not remember that he ever mentioned any particular sum, or that Sansome was to be admitted a partner.

From these different versions we must form our own conclusions, for there is no record of the suit having again come before the Court, though there is reason to think that Steele gained the day.¹ Whether any arrangement was come to with Sansome we do not know, but however that may have been, the question would ultimately settle itself by the discovery that there were no profits from the Fish Pool to be shared by any one. Sansome may have made himself useful, but it seems tolerably clear that his services were not such as to entitle him to so large a share in the profits as Steele, out of compassion, offered him; and the state of destitution to which Sansome had reduced himself makes his case suspicious. The one thing that is evident is Steele's generosity, which, however, as in other instances, was allied to recklessness, and led him into awkward predicaments.

¹ Page 236.

VIII.

IN SCOTLAND AGAIN. DEATH OF LADY STEELE.

1718. ÆT. 46.

In March or April 1718 Steele wrote a paper for some periodical which I have not been able to trace, upon two recently published pamphlets. It has already been said¹ that Steele took part in the debates in the House of Commons in December 1717, respecting a proposed reduction in the strength of the army, and that he supported the proposals in the King's Speech, in opposition to Walpole. The motion for a supply was opposed by Mr. William Shippen in a strong speech which led to his being committed to the Tower; and his speech, as well as those on the same side by Mr. Jefferies and Sir Thomas Hanmer, were published in a pamphlet dated 1718, *Three Speeches against continuing the Army*. A month later a youth named James Shephard was arrested for writing a letter proposing, in the interest of the Pretender, to assassinate King George. This lad of seventeen was doubtless of weak mind, but as he made no defence and maintained that what he had done was right, he was executed in March. A poem on the Trinity, written in Newgate, was published, and a dying speech, said to be by Shephard, was printed and widely distributed for party purposes. The fragment of Steele's article² begins thus: "It is not in nature to Suppose that one man can carry on a design of so great Weight as that I have undertaken to direct and see performed under the Character of *Guardian*. You are therefore to understand that as man is the object of my Studies I have according to the different talents of young Gentlemen who

¹ Page 152.

² Blenheim MSS.

labour with me assigned them respective parts and offices in the care and conduct of whatever relates to Human life. There is one who is an excellent Philosopher whome I have ordered to give me a report from time to time of all Growing passions Opinions or Sentiments which may be serviceable or destructive to Society. His Employment is called *Moderator of the Passions For the Cities of London and Westminster.*" While in this way of thinking, Steele could not pass over two papers which were being handed about with great applause by those who shared the sentiments of the authors,—the *Three Speeches against continuing the Army*, and the *Dying Speech of James Shepheard*. He would begin with the speech of W. S[hippen], Esq., the Confessor, who was committed prisoner to the Tower, because he had greater desert among the enemies of the Government than James Shepheard, the Martyr, who suffered death at Tyburn. Shippen's statement that Sir Joseph Jekyll's speech, when stripped of some excursions, could be reduced to two propositions, (1) that the only danger of continuing the army is the expense of it, and (2) that we ought to comply with the number of forces proposed, because it is demanded by the King, who is the best judge of our necessities, is then criticised, and the paper ends with the promise of an examination of what Shippen said in contradiction of these propositions.

In May, Miss Steele's school bill, £9. 16s. 6d. for the quarter, was paid.¹

MISS STEELE'S BILL TO MRS. CHAUVIN FOR HER BOARD.

A Quar ^s Board due from y ^e 29 th of	}	9 : 0 : 0
January, to y ^e 29 th of Aprill 1718		
Writing Master		0 : 10 : 0
the Minister		0 : 9 : 0
Writing book, pens and Ink		0 : 1 : 6
		<hr/>
		9 : 16 : 6
		<hr/>

Received y^e 9th of May 1718 the Content of this Bill in full by
me. A. CHAUVIN.

Three days later, on the 12th May, Steele gave a bond for

¹ Blenheim MSS.

£264 to a John Warner, acknowledging himself bound to Warner in that sum, and as the money was not repaid Warner brought an action, and claimed damages of £60. Steele's attorney, Ralph Porter, said he was not instructed to make any reply, and judgment was therefore given in Warner's favour, on the 24th May, with 53s. for damages sustained by the detention of the debt, and for costs and charges.¹ On the 26th the action brought by the tailor, Le Pine, again came before the Court.² It will be remembered that in Michaelmas term, 1714, judgment was given in favour of Nicholas Jacquell (or Jonquell) Le Pine against Steele for a debt of £266, with 53s. damages. Steele had, however, not repaid the money, and Le Pine applied for a remedy. The King's writ was accordingly issued, commanding the Sheriffs to cause Steele to appear on Friday next after the morrow of Holy Trinity to show cause why Le Pine should not have execution against him. On the 26th May, Le Pine came to the Court *in propria persona*, and the Sheriffs, Peter Delme and Harcourt Master, Knights, returned the writ to the Court, showing that Steele had nothing in their bailiwick. Steele did not appear, and the Sheriffs were again commanded to make it known to him that he was to come to Westminster on Saturday next after the Octave of Holy Trinity. On that day Le Pine came, but not Steele, and the Sheriffs again said that Steele had nothing in their bailiwick. It was therefore ordered that Le Pine should have execution against Steele for his debt and damages.

In the summer of 1718 Steele was visiting at Blenheim, together with Hoadly and Dr. Samuel Clarke, and among the amusements provided for the Duke of Marlborough, who was now in a senile condition, was an amateur performance of Dryden's *Love for Love*. Lady Bateman, a granddaughter of the Duke, took the part of Cleopatra, and she applied in vain, we are told, to Steele for a Prologue, and seemed chagrined at the disappointment. At night Bishop Hoadly desired that writing materials might be brought to his room, and next morning, at breakfast, presented to Lady Bateman a Prologue,

¹ King's Bench Judgment Roll, Easter 4 Geo. I., 205.

² King's Bench Judgment Roll, Trinity 4 Geo. I., 506. See vol. i. 323; vol. ii. 49, 50.

which she recited the same evening.¹ There are two anecdotes of Steele relating to this occasion. The part of Antony was played by a Captain Fishe, who had been one of the Duke's pages, and Steele, who sat next to Hoadly, often observed how well and feelingly the Captain played. Steele was delighted with the hearty manner in which Fishe wooed Cleopatra, and at length he whispered to the Bishop, "I doubt this Fishe is flesh, my Lord." When they were leaving Blenheim, Steele noticed what a large number of servants in laced coats and ruffles were present, and knowing how straitened his own means were, he asked the Bishop whether his Lordship gave money to all those fellows. When the Bishop replied "No doubt," Steele said he had not enough, and when he passed them in the hall made a little speech, complimenting them as men of taste, and inviting them all to Drury Lane, to whatever play they should please to bespeak.

There is another well-known story told by Dr. John Hoadly. Bishop Hoadly was, by invitation, present at one of the Whig meetings at the Trumpet in Shire Lane, where Steele, in his zeal, rather exposed himself, having a double duty to perform, namely, to celebrate the immortal memory of King William, it being the 4th November, and to drink up to conversation-pitch his friend Addison, whose constitution "was hardly warmed for society by that time Steele was not fit for it." John Sly, the hatter, of facetious memory, so often mentioned in the *Spectator*, was in the house, and, when pretty mellow, came into the room where the company were assembled upon his knees, with a tankard of ale in his hand, to drink off to the "immortal memory," and to retire in the same manner, whereupon Steele whispered to Hoadly, "Do laugh; it is humanity to laugh." In the evening Steele was put into a chair and sent

¹ Hoadly's "hasty Prologue" is given in *Addisoniana*, ii. 227-9. It contains references to one who would rehearse the Duke's deeds in "annals of each glorious year," and whose name would live through its connection with Marlborough's. This historian, it is to be presumed, was Steele, who, however, never carried out his plan of writing a history of the war in Flanders. A "Prologue intended for 'All for Love' revived," by Steele, was printed in the *Theatre*, No. 10. It was probably written for this performance at Blenheim, but kept back when Hoadly produced his lines.

home; but he insisted on being carried to the Bishop's, late as it was. However, the chairmen carried him home, and got him upstairs, "when his great complaisance would wait on them downstairs, which he did, and then was got quietly to bed." Next morning he wrote an apologetic letter to Hoadly, with the following couplet:—

"Virtue with so much ease on Bangor sits,
All faults he pardons, though he none commits."

It was not until August, at the earliest, that Steele made his second visit to Scotland, and the journey may have been made considerably later in the year. As early as March he had written to James Anderson, editor of the *Diplomata Scotiæ*, offering to engage a house of Anderson's for six months from the 15th May. James Anderson, Writer to the Signet, and Postmaster-General for Scotland in 1715, corresponded with Anstis and Ralph Thoresby, and had travelled to various Universities in search of facts connected with antiquarian matters. He frequently came to London. This was Steele's first letter.¹

SIR,

Sir Henry Houghton² has been so kind as to communicate to me your offer (of the house in which Collonell Guest lived) to him. You tell him that you and he shall not disagree, and he recommends me to stand in the same place of favour to be your tenant. I will, if you please to accept of me, take the house from the fifteenth of May next, for six months. Be pleased to take notice of the receipt of this and let me know upon what terms I am to have the house furnished for a family.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

RICHARD STEELE.

ST JAMES'S STREET,
March 19, 1717-8.

Anderson at once accepted the offer.³

¹ Maidment's *Analecta Scotica* (Series I.), p. 16. The originals of the letters quoted from Maidment are, except when otherwise stated, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

² M.P. for Preston.

³ The draft of this letter was in the collection of MSS. in the possession of James Maidment, Esq. (Mr. Wills's papers).

SIR RICHARD STEELE

S^r I am honour'd w^h yours of the 19th curt. Your own character and the recommendation of S^r Henry Houghton gives you a just [claim?] of a hearty welcome to my house and little garden which I shall have ready furnished for you by the 15th of May next, Coll. Guest being to move before that time, and you may be fully persuaded of being civilly used in the rent, since yourself or S^r Henry shall determine it for the six months you mention in your l^{re}. Be pleased to let me know what beds you will have occasion for and if you bring coach or chariot, that I may look for a coach-house, there being only a stable for 2 horses belonging to the house. I hope the known goodness of y^e air of the house will be to your lady's liking, as it was to Lady Houghton and Mrs. Guest, and I believe the place will be not the less agreeable to you, that in the neighbourhood I have a little Muse wherein is some furniture which I presume may afford you diversion at spare time. Having for a long time been very ambitious of an acquaintance that I now flatter myself I shall be honoured with and wished only an opportunity to testify, and being with great respect and truth, Sir, &c.

On the 23rd June, Steele wrote to his wife that next morning he hoped to reach Hampton Court, and then hasten to London (which he must reach in the forenoon),¹ "as soon as I have taken up you and the rest of my dear cargo." "I was so pleased with my son from his lodging to Hampton, that I shall, please God, take him with me to Scotland." In an undated letter to Patrick Anderson, his son, James Anderson wrote: "I heard no word of Sir Richard Steele, only, it is said, Mr. Wolf, who waited some days for him, is on the road, and I continue my resolution of leaving the house and going to the Grass Market;" and in another letter, written on the 3rd July, he said: "Sir Richard Steele is not come, and less expectation than before of his being soon here. His brethren Commissioners here"—who had settled down to their work at an office in the Parliament Close²—"are in great wrath with him."³ At the end of July Steele was still in London, detained by business connected with

¹ Page 187, below.

² *Mist's Weekly Journal*, July 26, 1718.

³ "Collections relative to James Anderson" (MSS., and cuttings containing letters of Anderson's printed from papers in the Advocates' Library). Brit. Museum, 10854. ff. 11.

the Fish Pool scheme,¹ and he could not tell Anderson when he would be able to leave town. The idea of Lady Steele going with him to Scotland had been abandoned.²

SIR,

I lately received a letter from Edinburgh, which admonished me that you were under the inconvenience of living in my house, and kept a servant in your own, till my arrival there. Be pleas'd to place in the habitation with which you have obliged me any plain laborious woman (an old one I had rather have) to keep the goods in order, and I will give her the rate you think proper. I cannot name the time I leave this town, but my great affair is almost finished, and the moment it is I shall take my horses for Scotland, though I do not bring my coach by reason of my wife's inability to go with me; I shall want the four-horse stable for my saddle-horses. I am always troubling you, but shall endeavour, on any occasion you will give me, to approve myself, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

ST JAMES'S,

July 29th, 1718.

We hear no more of the visit to Scotland until December, when Steele had been and gone, and when Anderson was making strenuous efforts to get from Steele the money that he owed him for his house. £10 only was charged for the six months' rent. On the 4th December Anderson wrote to Colonel Monro:³ "I have by this post writ to S^r Ric^d Steele and drawn upon him for the six months' rent and some small things laid out for him payable to our friend M^r Thomas Paterson. I must hope S^r Rich^d will honour the bill, but if he be any way dilatory I intreat your assistance having really occasion for the money. I have charged him only £10 for y^e

¹ A writer in Mist's *Weekly Journal* for September 6, 1718 (answered in the paper for November 29), though doubtful as to the benefit the invention would be to the public, hoped Steele was upon a better bottom than when he sold his coat for the completing of the grand Elixir. If his only real design was to catch gudgeons, the writer feared he came too late, most of them having already been snapt up by previous projectors.

² *Analecta Scotica* (Series I.), p. 17.

³ Mr. Maidment's MSS.—Col. Robert Monro, of Foulis, was M.P. for the Wick group of burghs.

six months' rent which I am persuaded you will think easy and be so kind as signify so much to S^r Rich^d if occasion offer." Anderson also wrote to Sir Henry Houghton, enclosing the following, written so that it could be shown to Steele: "Being obliged to pay some money by Christmas at London I have been obliged to draw on S^r Ric^d Steele for the six months' rent of my house, and some small matters I laid out for him. I most earnestly begg the favour that you may make my apology to Sir Richard for drawing upon him, having pressing occasion for the money and the disappointment will be inconvenient for me." A third letter was sent to Mr. Paterson.

I send you an account due by Sir Rich^d Steele of £56 ster: w^h a bill on him for said sum payable to you or order. I have advised him by this post, and hope he will duly honour it for I could easily have let my house to as good if not better advantage but having a particular esteem for S^r Ric^d I was very desirous of having him for my tenant. I had repeated assurances from him of his coming down else I could have saved him part of the rent. . . . I have writ him that I have pressing occasions for the money which you'll be pleased to second. I am in a few days to send off my cloathes and things by y^e carrier w^{ch} I will take the liberty to direct to you, and will soon follow but you need take no notice of this to S^r Rich^d lest he delay matters till my coming.

The money was evidently paid, for next summer Steele was proposing to take the house again.

It will be remembered that in September 1717 Steele left the house which he rented of Madam Vandeput, after quarrelling with her, apparently about the rent.¹ On June 23, 1718, he wrote to his wife that he must be in London on the following forenoon, and the reason was, that on that day (the Feast of St. John the Baptist) he was to enter in a lease with "Lady Margaret Vandeput, widow," of a messuage, with appurtenances, in the parish of St. James, Westminster. A quarter's notice was to be given by either party, and the rent was £12. 10s. a quarter. Next day Steele entered into possession, and after nine months, that is, on March 25, 1719 (the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary), the rent for two

¹ Pages 142, 146.

quarters was in arrear and unpaid, whereupon Lady Vandeput brought an action to recover the £25 owing to her, and claimed £10 damages. Steele's counsel, Hugh Mills, said nothing in bar, and judgment was therefore given for the plaintiff, with 70s. damages, on May 23, 1719.¹

In September 1718 we have a friendly letter to Tonson on behalf of Caulfield, the barge-builder.²

DEAR S^r,

I am sollicitod by some Freinds, who give a very advantageous character of M^r Caulfield the Barge Builder, (and indeed he is the only one now on the River) to speake in his behalfe to my Lord Duke of Newcastle for His Grace's Warrant for Barge Builder to His Majesty. This place is vacant by the death of John Lofty; I begg of you to move my Lord in his favour, which I would not desire of you had I not been informed that he is the only man on the River now in Trade, who has himself built a Barge, and he has done many with great successe.

I am, Dear S^r,

Very Sincerely

Y^r most obedient

Oblig'd humble Ser^t

RICHARD STEELE.

Mr. Tonson

Sep^{br} 26th

1718

The Duke of Newcastle became Lord Chamberlain in April 1717, and when he entered upon the office he sent for Steele and the other sharers in the theatre, and "in an absolute manner" offered them a licence, and demanded a resignation of the patent. This Steele as absolutely refused, in writing, and petitioned the King for his protection in the grant which His Majesty had given him. There the matter rested for many months.³ But in October 1718 the Managers were in conflict with the Lord Chamberlain, from whose authority they claimed to be exempt. On the 25th the Lord Chamberlain sent queries on the subject to the Attorney-General, but the opinion given is not recorded.⁴

¹ Queen's Bench Judgment Roll, Easter 5 Geo. I., 150.

² Papers in the possession of Mr. Baker, of Bayfordbury.

³ Letter from Steele to the Duke of Newcastle, January 25, 1720.

⁴ Lord Chamberlain's Records, Warrant Book No. 25, p. 142.

SIR,

His Majesty being inform'd that the Managers of the play house at Drury Lane refuse to receive or Obey any ord^{rs} or regulations for their Govern^t from the Lord Chamberlain of His Maj^{ty}s Household, which all other playhouses acting by Authority of the Crown have been Subject to time out of mind, under pretence that by a patent granted by His Majesty to S^r Rich^d Steele, they are Subject to no Authority but his, as their Sole Govern^r;

His Majesty has therefore commanded me to consult you thereupon, and to take your advice and opinion upon the Querys which I herewith Send you enclos'd, together with a Copy of S^r Richard Steel's patent, which I desire may be return'd to me as soon as you can conveniently, to be laid before His Majesty.

I am, S^r,

Your most Obedient humble Servant

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

HAMPTON COURT,
Oct^r 25th, 1718.

Querys on S^r Rich^d Steel's Patent.

Whether His Majesty may not by His Lord Chamberlain make Orders and regulations for the better Govern^t of the Company of players acting by Virtue of a patent granted to S^r Rich^d Steele, notwithstanding any clauses or powers granted to S^r Rich^d Steele by the Said patent, in like manner as the players acting by S^r William Davenants and M^r Killigrews patents were nevertheless subject to the Orders and Govern^t of former Lord Chamberlains.

Whether S^r Rich^d Steele has power to Sell Alienat, or dispose of his Interest in the Said patent, or any part or Share of the profits thereof And whether he may Appoint and impower any persons to be Managers and Govern^{rs} of the said Company and Assigne Over and Vest in them the Authority and Power granted to him by the Said patent, and in Case he has no Such power, how far his patent may be Affected by it.

Shortly afterwards the Managers of the Theatre received £574. 1s. 8d. from the King for seven performances at Hampton Court.¹

These are to pray and Require Your Lordp: to pay or Cause to be paid to S^r Richd. Steele, or to the Managers of the Company of

¹ Lord Chamberlain's Records, Warrant Book No. 25, p. 154.

Comedians Acting in Drury lane the Sume of 200^l as a p^{re}sent from his Maj^{ty} for their Acting Plays at Hampⁿ Court Seven times during the Courts Residing there last Summer. As Also the Sume of 374^l 1^s 8^d. for their Charges and Expences in Attending Seven times there amounting in all to the Sume of 574^l 1^s 8^d. Given, &c., this 15 day of Nov^r 1718 in the fifth year of his Maj^{ty} Reign.

To the Earl of Radnor.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

Cibber gives some particulars of these performances at Hampton Court.¹ The King had ordered a Theatre to be erected in the great Old Hall, where it was intended that plays should be acted twice a week during the summer season. But September was more than half over before the Theatre was finished, and seven plays only were acted before the Court returned to London. Although the Managers required no consideration for their own labour, it was found that the expense of each play amounted to fifty pounds; and not only was this charge allowed, but the King, as we have seen, gave the Managers £200 more for their particular performance and trouble, and Cibber says that when he thanked the Lord Chamberlain for this favour, his Grace assured him that they had only the King himself to thank. King George was especially pleased with *Henry the Eighth*, and we are told that Steele, upon being asked by a grave nobleman, after that play had been acted, how His Majesty liked it, replied, "So terribly well, My Lord, that I was afraid I should have lost all my actors! For I was not sure the King would not keep them to fill the posts at Court that he saw them so fit for in the play."

Several actions for debt were brought against Steele in this Michaelmas term. In two cases Robert Henley was the complainant; in the first the debt was £53, and Henley was awarded 9s. damages; in the second the debt and damages amounted to £45. 15s., for which judgment was given on the 28th October. No particulars are given of another action brought by Hugh Reason, Esq., who was the landlord of the house in York Buildings,² except that judgment was signed on the 7th November.³

¹ *Apology*, chap. xvi.

² Pages 25, 105.

³ Exchequer Pleas Order Book, Mich. 5 Geo. I.; Exchequer Pleas, Index Judic. Series B (1 Geo. I.—7 Geo. I.), fol. 122 (back).

A suit in which Henry Hyde, of the parish of St. Clement Danes, was plaintiff was heard in the Court of Queen's Bench.¹ Hyde stated in his bill, which was brought before the Court in the preceding Trinity term, that on the 1st January 1717-18 Steele owed him £40 for the stabling and food ("horsemeat") provided before that date for the horses and mules of Steele, who was also indebted to Hyde in another £40 for divers works done by him; and Steele owed him also £100 for divers sums of money paid for Steele, and also £40 for the accommodation of divers horses and cattle. And on this same 1st January 1717-18, Steele compounded with Hyde for divers sums, whereupon it was found that he was in arrears to the amount of £121. 1s. 7d., which had never been repaid, whereby Hyde sustained £200 damages. On Thursday next after the three weeks of Michaelmas both parties appeared, and Steele said that Hyde's action ought to be dismissed, because he (Steele), on the 1st February 1717-18, for the satisfaction and exoneration of his several promises, made and delivered to Hyde a bond whereby he bound himself in the sum of £250 for the payment of £125 on the 10th May 1718, which bond Hyde accepted in full satisfaction of the several promises. But Hyde denied that Steele made the bond as alleged, or that he (Hyde) accepted it. The case was again before the Court on Wednesday next after the Quindene of Easter, 1719, when Steele did not appear, and made no defence. The Sheriffs were therefore ordered to ascertain what damages Hyde had sustained, and they reported in the following Trinity term that the damages amounted to £120, with 20s. for costs and charges. Judgment was then given against Steele on the 13th June 1719, and Hyde was also awarded £10 for costs, making in all £131.

The next letter, addressed to Alexander Scurlock, tells briefly of the death of Lady Steele on the 26th December.² In April she had been looking forward to her confinement,³ and perhaps her end was hastened by her illness.

¹ King's Bench Judgment Rolls, Mich. 5 Geo. I., 161; Easter 5 Geo. I., 72.

² This letter is given by Nichols, but the original is not with the other letters in the British Museum.

³ Page 175.

Dec. 27, 1718.

DEAR COUSIN

This is to let you know that my dear and honoured Wife departed this life last night.

I desire my Aunt Scurlock, and Mrs. Bevan, and you yourself, would immediately go into mourning, and place the charge for such mourning of those two ladies and your own, to the account of,

Sir, your most affectionate kinsman
and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

On the 30th Lady Steele—"a woman of good fame for virtue and understanding"¹—was buried in the middle of the South Transept of Westminster Abbey,² opposite Dryden's monument, and the following inscription was put upon the blue marble gravestone:—

DAME MARY STEELE

Wife of S^r Richard Steele [Knight^s]

Daughter and sole heiress to

Jonathan Scurlock [Esq^s]

of the County of Carmarthen

Died December the 26 1718

Aged 40 years.

Leaving issue one son and two daughters

Eugene, Elizabeth and Mary.

In spite of the numerous letters from Steele to his wife that we possess, we have not sufficient material to enable us to come to any very positive knowledge of Lady Steele's character, and the hints that we have are conflicting. In her early days she had doubtless been a somewhat spoilt beauty, decidedly self-willed. She had in her something of the prude and some-

¹ *Weekly Packet*, December 27, 1718, to January 3, 1718[-9].

² The entry in the Registers is: "1718. Dec. 30. M^{rs} Mary Steele: in the South Cross." Her correct designation was, of course, Dame Mary Steele.

³ These words have now gone, but are taken from the copy of the inscription given by Nichols in Steele's *Epistolary Correspondence*, 1809, p. 505. See *The Antiquities of St. Peter's, or the Abbey-Church of Westminster*, 3rd ed., 1722, ii. 195-8; the second volume is dedicated to Steele by "J. R.," and in speaking of Lady Steele the writer remarks that there is a monument erected to her in her husband's "Ladies Library," which may perhaps outlast, but will certainly last as long as the structure in which she lies. As regards the arms on Lady Steele's gravestone, see Appendix I.

thing of the coquette; she was fond of frequently going to church, and she managed to expose herself to an action for breach of contract of marriage. When she married Steele she was no doubt taken by his wit and powers, and she would inevitably be in some respects disappointed; for Steele lacked qualities most necessary to make a home perfectly happy, and there were weaknesses in his nature which must have occasioned much anxiety. She, on the other hand, seems not to have shown much judgment in her remonstrances, and she gave her husband good advice at all times and seasons, suitable or unsuitable. Sometimes she appears to have been penurious, sometimes extravagant, but Steele was so reckless in his money matters that she would never know when everything might go to ruin. Moreover, she brought money with her upon her marriage, and had therefore special reason to be annoyed at the losses caused by her husband's improvidence. She liked flattery, and Steele evidently found that by the use of it she could be conciliated, and matters kept smooth. Her own letters were sometimes very angry, sometimes tender; if we had more of them we could perhaps form a clearer estimate of the writer. She quarrelled with some of her own relatives, and she left her young children to be looked after as best they could by her husband and certain friends during her long visit to Wales in 1716-17; but we do not know all the reasons which occasioned that visit, and any theory that she was not a good mother could easily be met by evidence of her care for the children's interests. The tone of Steele's letters never changed; he was the same lover at the end of eleven years of married life as at the beginning, but the love was deepened by the fact that there were now others to share it. She who was "Dear Prue" was, especially towards the end, "My dear Wife" also, and he was "Your—Betty—Dick—Eugene—Molly's affectionate Richard Steele." The years had been chequered by many troubles, many pleasures, many complaints, many endearments, many quarrels, and many reconciliations, but at the end Steele was Prue's "most affectionate, most obedient husband and servant," and she was his "dear and honoured Wife."

IX.

DR. WOODWARD, SAVAGE, AND OTHERS. "THE SPINSTER."

1718-20. *ÆT.* 46-7.

THE session which commenced on the 11th November 1718 was marked by the passing of an Act for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, who had been placed in a very unfortunate position by the Act against Occasional Conformity of the previous reign and the Schism Act of 1714. Stanhope wished to repeal not only these Acts, but also the Test Act, and even the penal laws against Roman Catholics; but by Sunderland's advice he abandoned these wider designs, which would, if persevered in, have endangered the success of the whole measure. Accordingly, on the 13th December, Stanhope introduced into the House of Lords a Bill "for strengthening the Protestant interest;" and after considerable opposition, which caused the Ministers to consent to amendments proposed by Earl Cowper, who said he looked upon the Test and Corporation Acts as "the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state," the Bill was sent down to the Commons, where it was read for the first time on the 24th December. The debate on the second reading was on the 7th January 1719. There was a lively discussion of over eight hours' duration, but the galleries were closed to strangers. Walpole warmly opposed the Government, and upon a division the motion to commit the Bill was carried only by 243 votes against 202. On the 10th, however, the Bil

passed without amendment, and was sent back to the Lords. Both Steele and Addison voted with the majority, in favour of the Bill.

Steele's correspondence for this period need not detain us long. There is a letter from Captain Woodes Rogers, dated Nassau, New Providence, January 30, 1718-19, and directed "To the Hon. Sir Richard Steele, to be left at Bartram's Coffee-house in Church Court, opposite Hungerford Market, in the Strand," in which the famous buccaneer captain regretted that several letters addressed to him had been seized by pirates, and described "a woman called Pritchard," of a voluble tongue, who had visited him, and professed to know Steele, Addison, and others, giving, indeed, "some very particular private passages." Rogers mentioned the matter because she was on her way home, and it was uncertain what she might say of him. He sent his humble service to Mr. Addison and Mr. Sansome.¹ "I hope," he concluded, "Mrs. Ker and Roach whom I sent hence has (*sic*) been often with you, and that this will keep your hands in perfect health, and that you have thrown away your great cane, and can dance a minuet, and will honour me with the continuance of your friendship." The Mrs. Roach here mentioned is referred to in the following letter to Alexander Scurlock, at Carmarthen.

DEAR COUSIN

I beleive this will come to Carmarthen about the time of y^r Arrivall there, and I send it to signify to You that I foresaw many inconveniencies which might arise from making any assignment on the Play House, and therefore instead of giving Mrs. Roach any Order on that part of my income, I gave Her another Letter of Attorney for an Hundred a year to be paid by You, that is a Further Hundred, in all, two Hundred. I shall take care, God willing, to appropriate all arising from the estate to [the] Service of the Children, but at the same time I must make it pay all Funerall Charges of the Late possessors of it, My Honour'd Mother and Dear Wife, therefore I entreat You to have Your thoughts upon Supplying those proper charges with the greatest expedition that may be proper. I have order'd all tradesmen to bring in their bills, and

¹ Page 161.

shall transmit the sums to You and desire thereupon that you may tell Me what they are to trust to as to time of payment. I am, dear Sandy,

Y^r Faithfull Freind & Humble Serv^{nt},

RICHARD STEELE.

VIGLARS STREET
YORK BUILDINGS¹
Feb. 19th, 1713.

The letter from Captain Rogers mentioned above reminds us that in April—soon after it was written—Defoe published the first part of *Robinson Crusoe*. The idea of that work was suggested by the story of Alexander Selkirk, a son of a shoemaker at Largo, who left England in 1703 in an expedition led by Captain Dampier, and who was left on the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez in the following year by his commander, Stradling, with whom he had quarrelled. In 1709 he was released by Captain Woodes Rogers, and after a long voyage, reached England in October 1711. In 1712 Captain Rogers, who knew both Steele and Addison well, published an account of the Expedition of which he had been Commander, with the title, “A Cruising Voyage round the World . . . Containing,” among other things, “An account of Alexander Selkirk’s living alone four years and four months in an Island.” Steele had frequent conversations with Selkirk, who was visited by many persons, and in the *Englishman* for December 3, 1713, he gave an interesting account of the man and his adventures. To what extent Defoe was indebted to Steele’s paper we cannot say; the story was well known, and had been told in several forms. *Robinson Crusoe* was published anonymously, and it is curious to note that in 1769, after half a century, a French translation, or rather abridgment, of the book was published at Frankfort, upon the title-page of which the work was attributed “au célèbre Richard Steele,” and this was repeated in a note to the preface. A version of the “New Robinson, Chevalier de Kilpar,” printed in the same volume, was attributed to the celebrated

¹ On the 4th March William Bishop of Gray’s Inn wrote to Dr. Charlett at Oxford: “When I can learn where S^r R. Steel lives you shall know” (Ballard MSS., Bodleian Library, vol. xxxii. f. 83).

Monsieur Fielding! *Robinson Crusoe* was also attributed to Steele in a French version published at Amsterdam in 1766.¹

On the 28th May there was a letter from Henry Cutteford, Master of the Fish Pool vessel, a sloop of sixty-one tons, describing the behaviour of the ship at sea, and how when they reached Gravesend they took the fish out of the hold and dined on them. Cutteford would, according to Steele's orders, endeavour to be laden with a cargo of live cod.

If a poem called "The Election of a Poet Laureat in 1719," by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, is to be taken seriously, Steele was a candidate for the laureateship, vacant by the death of Rowe in December 1718.

"All came with full confidence, flushed with vain hope,
From Cibber and D'Urfey, to Prior and Pope.

Steele long had so cunningly managed the Town,
He could not be blamed for expecting the crown:
Apollo demurred as to granting his wish,
But wished him good luck in his project of Fish."

Finally Eusden rushed in, and Apollo granted his claim,

"But vowed though till then he ne'er heard of his name."²

On the 12th August, Steele wrote to John Law, the founder of the great Mississippi scheme, with whom he was acquainted, telling him of the Fish Pool Patent, and suggesting what great advantage might be made of such a privilege given by the King of France for his dominions. Law could join his own, that of his brother, or any other name, in partnership with Steele in such a Patent; Steele could not of himself carry the work

¹ In the *Memoirs of an English Officer*. By Capt. George Carleton, published in 1728, and generally attributed to Defoe, there is mention (chap. iii.) of Steele in earlier days. Captain Carleton was recalled to England upon the discovery of the Assassination Plot in 1696, and when the Captain met Lord Cutts in Whitehall, Lord Cutts was very obliging, and asked him to call at his house next day. "At the time appointed, I waited on his lordship, where I met Mr. Steel (now Sir Richard, and at that time his secretary), who immediately introduced me."

² Oldmixon, too, wished to be laureate, and in a letter to Tonson mentioned Tickell, Hughes, and Dennis as possible competitors (Add. MS. 28275, f. 46).

further, but as the truth of the design was now evident, he hoped "to find means to carry it on from a partnership in the profits that may very visibly arise from it." But whatever befell this application, Steele wished Law's "great and noble genius" the continuance of prosperous adventures.

There are several pleasant letters to Steele's daughter Betty, in which Mrs. Keck's kindness is often mentioned.¹

MY DEAR CHILD MISSE BETTY

One matter of moment or other has detain'd Me all this day, nor can I see you to-night. I thank you for y^r Purse, and if you and I Live till this day Twelvemonth You are to ask Me for it again full of Gold. God blesse You. Remember Me to Molly. Be observant of the Good Guardian God has rais'd for You.

RICHARD STEELE.

DEAR BETTY

If you have a letter from Mrs. Keck to Me pray send it Me by the Bearer sealed up; You may remember you sent Me one open by Him, He is a very faithfull Servant, but He might have been otherwise for aught You knew, not to say that it is also respect to Me to have a letter from You, when I send You one.

Give my most Humble Service to M^{rs} Snow when you see Her, and begg Her favour to visit You. You are at y^r new Lodgings, and always preserve the Highest respect to Her for being Willing to receive You.

But it is impossible for Me to be easy without seeing you Every moment I have leisure.

I am, most Affectionately, y^r Father

RICHARD STEELE.

My service to Molly.

I had businesse kept Me at home all day.

The tickets mentioned in the next letter were probably for a ball which was given to the young princesses in the Greenhouse at Kensington Gardens, on the 28th May, the King's birthday, when their household establishment was first formed.

¹ "A Poem on the death of Robert Keck, Esq. ; of the Inner Temple, who died at Paris, Sept. 16, 1719," was published, with the date 1720. "Friday last, the corpse of Mr. Keck, attorney-at-law, and son to the great money scrivener in Fleet Street, was brought to town from France, and will be interred next Friday in the Temple Church" (*Thursday's Journal*, November 12, 1719, quoted by Nichols).

DEAR CHILD

I have your pretty letter and have sent to know whether I can have any tickets or not, or whether there will be room, but have not yet an answer. Be gratefull, Obedient, and respectfull to M^{rs} Keck and you will Oblige Y^r Most Affectionate Father

RICHARD STEELE.¹

May 21st, 1719.

In June, Steele was contemplating a journey to Scotland, and he wrote to Mr. Anderson to engage a house.²

SIR,

You will allow that when I was last your tenant the house was very little the worse for my wearing. This, I hope, will recommend me to you now; and I desire to have the same tenement, goods, stables, and everything else you condescended to provide for me last year, on the same terms for the same space of time, commencing from this date.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

YORK BUILDINGS, June 4th, 1719.

In the Treasury Minute Book³ there is an entry under the date 23rd July 1719: "Sir Richard Steele, one of the Comm^{rs} for Forfeitures, is call'd in. My Lords acquaint him that the comm^{rs} in Scotl. are at a stand in their business for want of two of his brethren's attendance. He promises to set out in a few days, and to make amends for his former neglect by his future diligence." A week later the Commissioners again complained.⁴

From Our Office in Edin^h
30th July 1719.

S^r

Wee take the Liberty to give you the Trouble of presenting the inclosed Certificate of the absence of Richard Grantham Esq^r⁵ & Sir Richard Steele to the Lords of the Treasury; The absence of those Gentlemen from their duty, for the two last years, & to this

¹ On the back, "To Dear Betty Steele. Service to Molly."

² Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, Series I., p. 17.

³ Vol. xxii. p. 200 (Record Office).

⁴ Treasury Papers, vol. ccxxii., Nos. 37, 37a.

⁵ M.P. for Lincoln City.

time, has been a very great hindrance to the Business of our Commission, & a considerable Detriment to the Publick.

Wee are, Sir,

Yo^r most humble Servants

ARTHUR INGRAM¹

H. HOUGHTON

PAT: HALDANE²

ROBERT MUNRO.

This apparently had no effect, for on the 10th October there was a further complaint from the Commissioners, with a third certificate of the absence of Steele and Grantham. It seems doubtful whether Steele went to Scotland at all in 1719.

A great controversy among the physicians, in which Dr. John Woodward, Professor of Physic at Gresham College, was opposed by Dr. Freind, Dr. Richard Mead, and others, was at its height about this time, and in June Steele took part in the war of pamphlets. Dr. Freind had published the First and Third Books of Hippocrates' *De Morbis Popularibus*, to which he added a commentary on fevers. In reply to this work Dr. Woodward published, in 1718, *The State of Physic and of Diseases*: "With an enquiry into the causes of the late increase of them, but more particularly of the small-pox: With some considerations upon the new practice of purging in that disease." Dr. Freind recommended purging upon access of the second fever in some dangerous cases of confluent small-pox, and Dr. Mead agreed with him; but Dr. Woodward, who had a hypothesis about the salts in the stomach, which was ridiculed by Arbuthnot, recommended the use of emetics. Among the humorous replies to Dr. Woodward were "A Letter to the learned Dr. Woodward, by Dr. Byfield," written by Dr. Freind himself, and the "Letter from the facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to his loving brother the profound Greshamite, . . . With an Appendix concerning the application of Socrates his clyster, and the use of clean linen in controversy,"³ a tract which was reprinted in 1726 in

¹ The Hon. Arthur Ingram was M.P. for Horsham.

² Master Patrick Haldane was M.P. for the Cupar group of burghs.

³ In this pamphlet the following curious passage occurs: "In the case of a fracture, or a dislocation, I have known it [a vomit] necessary. . . . In Sir R. St—le's daughter, the emetic might operate perhaps too briskly, and cause the thigh-bone to break again: However, you was so well satisfied of the

the volume of Works attributed to Dr. Wagstaffe. Among the replies to these pieces were "The two Sosias," and "A Letter to the fatal Triumvirate." The wits generally took Dr. Freind's side, whereupon Dr. Woodward's friends said that the question was a serious one, and could not be decided by humorous pamphlets. To meet this complaint Dr. Quincy wrote a grave "Examination of Dr. Woodward's State of Physick," but he was answered only by a personal attack, "An account of Dr. Quincy's Examination, &c., in a letter to the Free-thinker," signed and dated at the end "N.N.," Middle Temple, September 1, 1719. Steele was himself under Dr. Woodward's care, as we learn from Woodward's *Select Cases and Consultations in Physick*, published in 1757, many years after the Doctor's death. In that volume there is an account of the "case of Sir Richard Steele."

"He had the gout by fits, for — years, it constantly growing upon him; and in the winter of 1715, and the following spring, the fit was more severe than ever before, and continued for several months." It was then that Dr. Woodward was first consulted. He found Steele in great distress and pain, wholly disabled and helpless; but he was immediately relieved by unctuous medicines, with purges and clysters, and soon recovered his limbs, strength, and health. He said he had not felt so lightsome, serene, and cheerful for years; but he left off the medicine too soon. Still, "notwithstanding that he ate very high, and frequently drank hard, he enjoyed better health than formerly; and never had any fit of the gout afterwards. Only sometimes, after a great excess, his limbs became heavy, clumsy and stiff; but never to such a degree as not in a little while to come to themselves. July 16, 1720, being, after a great entertainment, more unwieldy and heavy, and his legs and arms more stiff and helpless than ever, since the great fit before mentioned, I directed

Calomel, Scammon. p. et Pulv. Diasenn. āā ʒ ss.

Syr. Ros. q. s. m. f. Bol.

to be taken every morning, with a clyster half an hour after it."

good effect that you continued her Mother in the same course, even to the day she died."

The patient was relieved at once, and before dinner his limbs were easy, pliant, and free. He was very sensible of the reasons of the success.

The *Free-Thinker*, a periodical chiefly written by Ambrose Philips,¹ deprecated, in its issue for June 5 (No. 126), the growing hostilities of the pen, especially among the physicians. No member of the faculty was allowed to dissent from the orthodox views without being persecuted, and Dr. Woodward's opponents went so far as to exhibit an awkward piece of malice publicly on the stage. Dr. Quincy, in his book, replied that the stage exhibition here referred to was disavowed by all the best men in the profession, and that it was not true that Dr. Mead wrote the "Letter from the facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe." Early in June a quarto pamphlet appeared, which there is strong evidence for believing to be by Steele,² with the following title: *The Antidote, in a Letter to the Free-Thinker*, "Occasioned by the management of the present dispute between Dr. Woodward and certain other Physicians."³ The writer complained that the doctors had neglected the subject-matter in debate, to turn the person who gave rise to it into contempt and ridicule. Dr. Woodward had attempted to make physic a science, and the other doctors resented being brought to the test of nature. "The dispute is about the life of Man, and it is a melancholy consideration that nothing is answered but in professed mirth." And the pamphlets against Woodward were not really witty or humorous. Finally, the writer urged the

¹ Steele probably wrote some papers for the *Free Thinker*. Among the Blenheim MSS. is a fragment of a draft beginning: "When I open'd my Design in Writing this paper, and Explained the Character of a Freethinker, I declar'd that this name ought not to be given to those who transgresse the Bounds of Reason and Justice, but must be kept within proper regulations, and that the *Outlaw* of all men living had the least Pretence to be esteem'd a *Freethinker*."

² The copy of the *Antidote* in the Bodleian Library is contained in a volume of tracts relating to the controversy which was presented to the Library by Dr. Woodward himself, who in several cases wrote the name of the author on the title-page, first in pencil, and afterwards in ink in another place. In the case of the *Antidote*, "Sr Rich^d" is on the title-page in Dr. Woodward's autograph, the remainder of the note having been cut off in binding, and another hand has written in ink "Sir Richard Steele."

³ London: J. Roberts. 1719. 6d.

Free-Thinker to inform the persons concerned that Dr. Woodward had a just pretence to the respect of mankind for his attempt, and that the falsity of his assertions must be proved before his friends and patients would decline to support him.

On the 10th June a personal altercation occurred between Doctors Woodward and Mead outside Gresham College, and another pamphlet, dated, at the end, June 13, 1719, was published, with the title, *The Antidote. Number II. In a Letter to the Free-Thinker.* "Occasioned by later actions between Dr. Woodward and Dr. Mead." The author says that while his first Letter was in the press the *Free-Thinker* interposed in the controversy, but without the success which might have been expected. The rest of the paper is occupied with comments on the accounts given in the various newspapers of the conflict which took place outside Gresham College on the 10th, and at the end there is an Advertisement signed by Dr. Woodward, stating that Dr. Mead followed him and struck him from behind; that Woodward thereupon drew his sword and waited for Mead to do the like; that Mead then retreated before each stroke, until Woodward's foot struck against something and he fell. Mead then came over him, and after having with ease taken his sword, demanded that he should ask for his life. This Woodward declined to do; and they were soon separated.

The paper warfare continued for some time, but Dr. Woodward himself took no part in it, and spent the remainder of his life in study. He died at Gresham College in 1728.

There were four actions for debt against Steele in 1719, including the one already noticed, in which Lady Vandeput was plaintiff. In Easter term John Mills brought a bill in the Court of Queen's Bench complaining that on the 18th February 1713-14, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, Steele gave him a note promising to pay him £22. 18s. 6d., with interest, and that on the same day Steele compounded with him for divers other moneys then unpaid, whereupon Steele was found in arrear in other £22. 18s. 6d.; and that on the 1st December 1718 Steele was indebted to him in £30, which he had before that time borrowed. But the money had not been repaid, though specially

asked for on the 3rd December 1718, and on many other occasions, to the damage of John Mills of £40. On Friday next after the morrow of Holy Trinity both parties appeared, and Steele's attorney, Hugh Mills, said that John Mills ought not to maintain his action because on the 1st January 1718-19 Steele had in satisfaction of the several promises made by him delivered to John Mills a bond for £60 for the payment of £30 on the 27th March 1719, which bond Mills accepted in full satisfaction of all the said promises. But Mills denied that he accepted this bond in full satisfaction thereof; and after a long discussion the case was adjourned to Michaelmas term, when it was decided that Mills' action might be maintained, and the Sheriffs were commanded to find out what damages Mills had sustained, and to return the inquisition to Westminster.¹

The two other actions came before the Court of Common Pleas in Michaelmas term.² John Teshmaker³ summoned Richard Steele, late of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, for a debt of £100, which he had borrowed in the said parish on the 11th June 1719, promising to repay it when asked to do so; but the money had not been repaid, to the complainant's damage of £20. Steele's attorney, George Richardson, made no answer, and judgment was therefore given on the 28th October in Teshmaker's favour, with 60s. damages. The second suit was brought against Richard Steele, late of the city of Westminster, Knight, by William West, for a debt of £70, for which sum Steele had given a bond on the 17th September 1717. But the money had not been repaid, and West claimed £10 damages. Steele's attorney made no defence, and on the 16th November judgment was given for West, with 60s. damages.

Towards the end of the year the unfortunate Richard Savage, then in his twenty-second year, succeeded in getting his second play, "Love in a Veil," put upon the stage, but it met with no success. The acceptance of the play led, however, to Savage making the acquaintance of Steele and Wilks, who both helped him. Johnson says that Steele, "having declared in his favour with

¹ King's Bench Judgment Rolls, Trinity 5 Geo. I., 207.

² Common Pleas Judgment Rolls, Mich. 6 Geo. I., 506, 705.

³ Pages 35, 105 note.

all the ardour of benevolence which constituted his character, promoted his interest with the utmost zeal, related his misfortunes, applauded his merit, took all the opportunities of recommending him, and asserted, that 'the inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to find every good man his father.'¹ Steele went so far as to propose that Savage, after being established in some settled scheme of life, should marry his natural daughter, Miss Ousley; but, fortunately for the young lady, this scheme fell through, owing, as Johnson (or Savage) represents, to Steele never being able to raise the £1000 which he had offered to bestow upon her. Miss Ousley afterwards married Mr. Aynston, a Welsh gentleman. In the meantime, we are told, Steele learned that Savage had ridiculed him, and he was so annoyed that he withdrew the allowance which he had paid Savage, and never afterwards admitted him to his house.

Savage told Johnson several anecdotes about Steele, but they are mostly uncorroborated, and therefore cannot be relied upon, for Johnson himself wrote of Savage that "it was always dangerous to trust him, because he considered himself as discharged by the first quarrel from all ties of honour or gratitude, and would betray those secrets which in the warmth of confidence had been imparted to him." One of Savage's stories was, that once at Steele's request he went to his house early in the morning, and found the chariot ready at the door. They drove rapidly to Hyde Park Corner, where they stopped at a petty tavern,² and retired to a private room. Steele then told him he was going to publish a pamphlet, and

¹ Johnson refers to Hill's account of Savage's story in the *Plain Dealer*. Verses by Savage had been printed, and his case noticed in No. 15 of that periodical, which was conducted by Aaron Hill and William Bond. In No. 73 (November 30, 1724) there was another piece by Savage, with a letter from the author soliciting subscriptions to a "Collection of Miscellaneous Poems." In a sketch of Savage's life Hill wrote: "I think it was finely said by a gentleman whose writings and humanity were, for many years, the admiration of the kingdom, that 'it ought to be the case of all, in whose power it lay, to lift Mr. Savage above a sense of his mother's cruelty; because a misery so undeserved had intitled him to a right of finding every good man his father.'"

² Probably, says Jesse, the "Triumphal Chariot," between "Hercules Pillars" and what is now Hamilton Place.

that Savage was to be his amanuensis. The work went on till the afternoon, the only interruption being dinner, which was of a mean description, and when it was finished Steele said he was without money, and that the pamphlet must be sold before the dinner could be paid for. Savage was, therefore, obliged to take the tract for sale, and with difficulty obtained two guineas for it; whereupon Steele returned home, having retired that day only to avoid his creditors, and composed the pamphlet to discharge his reckoning. On another occasion, as Savage asserted, he, Steele, and Ambrose Philips, upon emerging from a tavern in Gerrard Street, were warned by a tradesman that there were bailiffs on the watch, and they all three rushed off in different directions, panic-stricken. A third tale, how Steele dressed the bailiffs, who had come with an execution, in liveries, in order that, being there, they might do him credit in the eyes of his guests, had been alluded to years before in the *Examiner*, and the events described happened, therefore, if at all, long before Savage knew Steele. Savage adds that Steele's friends, having found out how there came to be so many servants, discharged their attendance by paying the debt, after making the host promise that he would never again be graced with a retinue of the same kind. But we can now leave doubtful traditions and return to facts.

Throughout the summer of 1719 there were constant complaints of the ruin of trade and of the weavers and manufacturers through the growing use of calicoes instead of woollen goods, and the distress was accompanied by riots, in some of which dresses made of calico were torn off the backs of the ladies who wore them. Defoe, among others, warmly sympathised with the weavers in their troubles, but of course the excesses that were committed only damaged their cause.¹ On the 23rd October a pamphlet called *The Weavers' True Case; or the Wearing of printed Calicoes and Linen destructive to the Woollen and Silk Manufactures. . . . By a Weaver*," appeared, and this was followed by a number of others on both sides. In December many petitions were presented to

¹ Mist's *Weekly Journal*, June 27, July 11, August 15, September 5 and 12, &c., 1719.

the House of Commons, and were referred to a Committee of the whole House. It was at this point that Steele published, on the 19th December,¹ *The Spinster: In defence of the Woollen Manufacturers. To be continued occasionally. Numb. I.* No more ever appeared. "This discourse," the pamphlet began, "is written in behalf of the needy and distressed, in opposition to the wealthy and powerful." But though Steele's present opinion was clearly on the side of the clothing made from our own wool, he was not deaf to calico, and he promised that if any lady in calico would write to Rebecca Woolpack, spinster, at Mr. Roberts's, Warwick Lane, post-paid (for the woollen-manufacturer could not bear postage), she should have a fair answer. In the meantime he took the modern English lady at 11 A.M., her break of day, and allowing her until twelve for private devotion, supposed she had called to be dressed; he would, then, examine her clothes, to see what she wore of English and what of foreign product. The table which he gives shows a total of £210. 7s. 6d., including £10 for a French or Italian quilted petticoat, £78 for a mantua and petticoat of French brocade, and £80 for a French point or Flanders laced head, ruffles and tucker. "This is the necessary demand upon every gentleman who would live in fashion and in quiet, for one dress for his lady; and as it would be scandalous (as his wife, anxious for his reputation, according to her duty, admonishes him) for her to be known by her clothes, she cannot but have five suits at least, and even with that she must stay at home one day in the week; but she is willing to do anything for his children and family, and would not appear abroad every day, like that flaring busy-body her neighbour Mrs. Blank." The price of a sable tippet, it may be noted, Steele estimates at £15 only. After giving many interesting particulars, he arrives at the conclusion that foreigners sell to the lady to the value of £1000, where the English sell to her to the value of £5. When a woman of honour and understanding considered the matter seriously, she would be fearful of putting on an ornament which, if generally worn, might, through the ruin of English manufacturers, expose crowds of her fellow-

¹ *Postman*, December 17 to 19, 1719.

subjects to shame or death. After quoting from "that judicious, delightful and memorable writer," the Spectator, the "excellent eulogium" upon Merchants in the sixty-ninth number, by Addison, he concludes that the country would be undone if something were not resolved for the improvement and immediate preservation of our trade.

The *Spinster* was followed, on the 9th January,¹ by an amusing pamphlet, *The Female Manufacturers' Complaint*, "being the humble Petition of Dorothy Distaff, Abigail Spinning-Wheel, Eleanor Reel, of S^t Edmundsbury in the County of Suffolk, Spinsters," To the Lady Rebecca Woolpack, in behalf of themselves and thousands of female manufacturers of wool and worsted yarn. After an account of the ruin brought upon the weavers by the use of calico, which is denounced as foreign, made by heathens and pagans who work for a halfpenny a day, the writer represents how it had been necessary to apply to Parliament to force the ladies to alter the mode, and how the sex was thus brought under a sort of subjection to men in the modes of their dress; and the men would, if they carried this point, impose sumptuary laws upon women, making them wear such clothes as they thought fit; or, which would be intolerable, oblige the ladies to wear no clothes any richer than their husbands could pay for. The fashion was the grievance, because it was the fashion; but ladies could at once make it odious and abhorred; they should take the honour of the change from the men, and give them nothing to boast of for reforming their wives. The pamphlet ends with "A respectful Epistle to Sir R——d St——le, concerning some omissions of the utmost importance in his Lady's Wardrobe," by Monsieur de Brocade of Paris.

Other pamphlets, in reply to Steele's, were *The Linen Spinster*, "in defence of the Linen Manufactures, &c. To be continued as Mrs. Rebecca Woolpack gives occasion. Numb. I. By Jenny Distaff;" and *An Answer to the Spinster*, "in a Letter from Jenny Distaffe to Rebecca Woolpack her half sister." Asgill also published a second edition of his *Brief Answer to a Brief State of Question between the printed and painted Callicoes, and the Woollen and Silk Manufactures*, "with an Appendix upon

¹ *Daily Courant*.

the *Spinster*," in which he remarked that he could see no item of calico in Steele's Lady's Inventory, except the maid in calico who dressed the lady; therefore, not only was his romance extravagant, but even if it were true it would be no argument for condemning calicoes not used by these ladies, who wore French and Italian silks. Steele again alluded to the subject in the *Theatre* for January 9 and February 6, 1720, and on the 11th February, in a Committee of the House of Commons, it was resolved that the use of all calicoes in apparel, household furniture, or otherwise, in Great Britain, be prohibited; that the use of all linens in apparel, &c. (except those of home growth and manufacture), be prohibited; and that the unlawful exportation of wool into foreign parts was a great occasion of the decay of the woollen manufactures of the Kingdom. These resolutions were next day agreed to by the House, and a Bill embodying them was introduced and passed in the House of Commons in due course. In the House of Lords, however, in the following May, the Bill fell through, though, in order to appease the weavers, who were indulging themselves in riotous conduct, an Address was presented to the King, asking him to take steps to prevent the wearing and using of calicoes. The King promised to give the desired orders to the Commissioners of Trade.

X.

THE PEERAGE BILL. DEATH OF ADDISON.

1719. ÆT. 47.

THE fate of the famous Peerage Bill was decided in December 1719, and although the measure was first brought before Parliament in the preceding February, I have not mentioned the matter before in order that a consecutive history of the measure and of the events which followed from it might be given.

The Whigs had not forgotten that by the creation of twelve peers Harley had succeeded in carrying the Treaty of Utrecht, and it was felt that such abuses of the Royal prerogative were a danger to the party, which was essentially aristocratic, and which feared any increase in the power either of the King or the people, and, above all, anything which might lead to the union of the two. But besides this there was an immediate danger caused by the quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales. The Prince felt especial enmity towards Sunderland, and it was feared that upon his father's death he would raise a number of his own favourites to the Upper House. The Whig lords had therefore various reasons for wishing to limit the Royal prerogative, and the Bill which was brought in provided that not more than six beyond the existing number of 178 English peerages were to be created (the power of making new peerages when old ones became extinct being reserved), that no new peerage was to be created with remainders except to the original recipient and his heirs male, that the sixteen representative peers of Scotland were to be replaced by twenty-five hereditary peers nominated by the Crown, and that this number, upon the failure of heirs male, should be supplied from

the remaining Scotch peers. The King, who was jealous of his son, and was not himself at all inclined to arbitrary measures, readily consented to the measure, and there seemed every prospect of success for the Ministry, although, of course, the Tories in the House of Commons would oppose the Bill. Accordingly, on the 28th February, the Duke of Somerset moved that the Bill should be brought in, and he was supported by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Sunderland, and the Earl of Carlisle. The Earl of Oxford pointed out that if this valuable branch of the prerogative were lopped off, the Crown would have no power of rewarding merit and virtuous actions. The Earl of Sunderland replied that sufficient opportunity for rewarding deserving commoners would be provided by the frequent extinctions of old titles. On the 2nd March, Earl Stanhope read a message from the King to the House, agreeing to the principles of the Bill. The debate which followed largely turned upon the question whether the proposals as regards the Scottish peerage were not a violation of the Treaty of Union; but eventually all the resolutions were carried by 83 votes against 30. The Bill was then brought in, and on the 14th March was read the first, and ordered to be read a second time. On that day the first number of Steele's *Plebeian* appeared.

On this question, as on others, Steele, to his honour, wrote not according to the requirements of party, but according to his conscience, and naturally the immediate result to himself was unfortunate. His first paper was called *The Plebeian*. "To be continued Weekly. No. I. Considerations upon the Reports relating to the Peerage. *Quisquis erit vitæ scribam color.* Horat. By a Member of the House of Commons."¹ In the course of this excellent pamphlet he pointed out that the shutting up the door of the House of Lords would be a great discouragement to virtuous actions, to learning, and to industry, and that it would be very detrimental to the House of Peers

¹ The pamphlet was by some attributed at the time to Mr. Benson—the friend who helped Steele in bringing forward the Fish Pool scheme—who was soon afterwards removed from his post of Surveyor-General of Her Majesty's Works (Rapin and Tindal's *History*, 1763, xix. 266).

itself, by preventing such frequent supplies from going into it as the nature of such a body requires; for want of which it might in time become corrupt and offensive, like a stagnant pool, which hitherto has been kept pure by the fresh streams that pass continually into it. But a more serious consequence attending the limitation of the number of peers was the danger there would be of changing the constitution by this means into an aristocracy; for if in such case two or three great families joined together, they would form such a body among the lords as the Crown could not control. It was argued that the measure would prevent the Sovereign suddenly creating a number of peers, only to answer a sudden purpose, and that this was such a plain Whig point as no Whig could oppose. But, said Steele, "Whiggism, if I understand it aright, is a defence of liberty, and a spirit of opposition to all exorbitant power in any part of the constitution." The danger on this account was no longer in the Crown, but in the Upper House. The increasing the number of peers was always to be wished for by the Commons, because the greater their number the less considerable they become, and the less within the influence of Court favours.

The principal reply to the *Plebeian* came from Addison, who published, on the 19th March, *The Old Whig*, "No. I. On the State of the Peerage, with Remarks upon the Plebeian." He argued that the division of the supreme power was most perfect when, as in England, it is distributed into three branches; but that such an arrangement is valueless if one branch of the legislature is liable on any occasion to be mastered and controlled by one of the others. Addison then replied in detail to the arguments in Steele's pamphlet and in "The thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, in relation to a project for restraining and limiting the power of the Crown, in the future creation of Peers," which had been published by Asgill on the 17th. On the 23rd March, No. II. of the *Plebeian* appeared, with the motto, taken from Juvenal, "Quis enim jam non intelligat Artes Patricias?" Steele began by speaking scornfully of pamphlets which had appeared on the opposite side, written by persons wanting to make their court by producing such lucubrations. But the *Old Whig*, in all probability the best performance from that

quarter, should be examined thoroughly. To judge from the title, the author appeared to be somebody used to masquerading; he might have been expected, like his ancestors, to have voted the House of Lords useless at least. Addison said that one advantage of the Bill was that it would hinder the nation from being overrun with lords. Steele rejoined: "This author and I differ on every account as to what relates to this branch of the legislature. They seem to me to have been for many years, and to be at present, a just and honourable body. This, I think, is owing to the frame of that body, and the situation it is in. I am against altering either, lest they should become tyrannical and odious. The *Old Whig* represents them at present a species of such a nature as I dare not venture to repeat, but must refer to his own words; and yet contends to vest them with much greater powers than they now have." He agreed with Addison that a good king could not desire more than the power of approving or rejecting any Bill, and as he believed from the bottom of his heart that they never had had so good a king as they had then, he could not credit what Addison asserted, that "his Majesty had already signified his consent on this point," before he had so much as heard the opinion of the Commons.

On the 30th March No. III. of the *Plebeian* was published. This was a short paper, filled, after a taunt at the *Old Whig* for not having replied, with a foolish speech, said to have been made on behalf of the Bill in a public-private company in the Long Room at the Comptroller's. Martin Bladen, Esq., Chairman of the Committee on the Peerage Bill, to whom this speech was addressed, was Comptroller of the Mint. The second number of the *Old Whig* appeared on the 2nd April. Addison began by ridiculing the manner in which "the author of the *Plebeian*, to show himself a perfect master in the vocation of pamphlet writing, begins like a son of Grub Street, with declaring the great esteem he has for himself, and the contempt he entertains for the scribblers of the age." As regards Steele's anger at the author assuming the title of "the Old Whig," that author might more justly recriminate upon his opponent for taking that of "the Plebeian," "a title which he is by no means fond of retaining, if we may give credit to many shrewd guessers."

Steele had said that the House of Lords, if its doors were closed to supplies from without, might become corrupt, like a stagnated pool; and Addison, referring rather maliciously to the Fish Pool, now twice went out of his way to remind him of his *stagnated Pool*.¹ This second and last number of the *Old Whig* concluded thus: "I must own, however, that the writer of the *Plebeian* has made the most of a weak cause, and do believe that a good one would shine in his hands; for which reason I shall advise him, as a friend, if he goes on in his new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer."

On the 6th April, Steele published No. IV. of the *Plebeian*, in which he printed a "Letter from a Nobleman of Scotland to a Gentleman of England," which had already appeared in a weekly pamphlet called *The Honest Gentleman*, "which very few persons, I fear, ever read."² Steele had made an ill-judged and improper allusion to the Ephori of Lacedæmon, and Addison had waived this passage, because it was nothing to the purpose, and because "I am informed there are two or three keen disputants, who will return a proper answer to it, when they have discovered the author." This, Steele rejoined, "is very mean; and this author's menaces in this place are as vain as his compassion in another part of his pamphlet is insolent." The *Plebeian* ended with a reference to the concluding sentence of the *Old Whig*, given above, and a

¹ Addison referred, a little later on in this pamphlet, to "Little Dickey," under the person of Gomez, in Dryden's *Spanish Friar*, insulting the Colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown. This was an allusion, as Lord Macaulay pointed out, to the actor, Henry Norris, who, on account of his small stature, was nicknamed "Little Dickey." But for long it was thought that this was another sneer at Steele; and Johnson, who had not seen the *Old Whig*, which was not printed in Tickell's edition of Addison's works, repeated this story. The mistake arose through two separate passages, and those incorrectly quoted, having been improperly pieced together, so that it was represented that Addison had spoken of "Little Dickey, whose trade it was to write pamphlets."

² This paper, printed on a folio half-sheet, first appeared on the 5th November 1718, and the 25th and last number was published on the 22nd April 1719. In that number it is stated that the paper was discontinued because of the remonstrance of the publisher to the author, that it did not sell, and that he was afraid he should be a loser by it.

dignified quotation from Addison's *Cato*. "Authors in these cases are named upon suspicion; and if it is right as to the *Old Whig*, I leave the world to judge of this cause by comparison of this performance to his other writings. And I shall say no more of what is writ in support of vassalage, but end this paper by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the tragedian:—

"Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights,
The generous plan of power, delivered down
From age to age by your renowned forefathers,
(So dearly bought, the price of so much blood).
O let it never perish in your hands!
But piously transmit it to your children."

—MR. ADDISON'S *Cato*.

So ended this controversy, which Johnson called a "bellum plusquam civile." For some time Addison and Steele had not been on the old terms of intimacy; "I do not ask Mr. Secretary Addison anything," Steele had written some two years back. Their lives had somewhat drifted apart from various causes, one of which was that Addison acknowledged the claims of party much more than Steele could ever be brought to do. In the pamphlets upon the Peerage Bill expressions were used on both sides, and especially by Addison, which are to be regretted, but for Addison at least there is the excuse that his health was failing. It is sad to think that no opportunity offered for reconciliation. On June 17, little more than two months after the publication of the last *Plebeian*, Addison died. He had for some time been troubled with asthma,¹ and an attack of this complaint, accompanied by dropsy, was the cause of death. He passed away peacefully, as he had lived, leaving one daughter, Charlotte, to the sole care of his "dear and loving wife," "being well assured," as he said in his will, made a month before his death, "that she will take due care of her education and maintainance, and provide for her in case she

¹ He was dangerously ill in the latter part of 1717, but was better in February 1718 (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, September 14 and December 21, 1717; February 1, 1718).

live to be married.”¹ The child, who was of weak mind, never married. It is pleasant to know that Lady Warwick by her will² left an annuity of £10 for the poor of Bilton, where Addison had an estate, and an annuity of £50 (to cease if Charlotte Addison died without issue, and before she was sixteen) to Mrs. Dorothy Combes, “sister of my late dear husband, Mr. Addison.”

Addison entrusted the publication of his works to Tickell, of whom Steele was somewhat jealous, and this fact partly accounts for the annoyance which Steele exhibited in the following rather incoherent letter to Tonson, written a month after Addison’s death :³—

M^r TONSON, S^r.

I apprehend certain Persons desire to separate the works of M^r Addison from mine in a Book called the Tatler. Be pleased to observe that I insist I payd M^r Addison for what he writ under that title, and made a Title of the whole to Nutt, and as there is a remainder according to act of Parliament in Writings to authors of which my Family shall not be bereft, M^r Addison is the last man who shall be patiently suffer’d in doing unreasonable things (that He has you must know) to

S^r

Y^r Most Humble Ser^{mt}

RICHARD STEELE.

Jul: 19th 1719.

I expect some Irish⁴ very soon in town of which I desire you to accept a present.

Steele’s old feeling for his “dear and honoured friend” soon, however, returned, and blotted out all trace of bitterness. In the following February he wrote a noble paper, to which reference will again be made, on their life-long friendship, and the differences of opinion which separated them. “Thus these two men lived for some years last past, shunning each other, but still preserving the most passionate concern for their mutual welfare. But when they met they were as unreserved as boys, and talked

¹ Will dated 14th May 1719; P.C.C. 98 Browning.

² Proved 1731; P.C.C. 199 Isham.

³ Add. MS. 28275, f. 57.

⁴ Whisky.

of the greatest affairs, upon which they saw where they differed, without pressing (which they knew impossible) to convert each other."

But we must return to the Peerage Bill. Of the large number of pamphlets published in March and April we need only mention Walpole's "Some Reflections upon a pamphlet called *The Old Whig*;" "A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons to a Gentleman without doors relating to the Bill of Peerage," attributed to Viscount Molesworth; "Six Questions stated and answered;" "Farther Reasons against the Peerage Bill;" "The Constitution explained, in relation to the independency of the House of Lords;" and "A Supplement to the papers writ in defence of the Peerage Bill," all of which more or less concerned themselves with the arguments of the *Plebeian*. Besides these there was a periodical called *The Patrician*, "in answer to the *Plebeian*: By one who is neither a Knight nor a Member of the House of Commons," that is, neither Steele nor Walpole. This paper had been announced beforehand in the "Letter . . . to a Gentleman without doors," and it was probably by Viscount Molesworth. Four numbers were issued, corresponding to the four *Plebeians*. The second number appeared on the 28th March, and on that date Steele found it necessary to advertise that "Whereas it is suspected by a great many people, that the *Patrician*, said to be writ against the *Plebeian*, is really writ by one of the same side, which is an old trick amongst writers; the public is hereby assured, that the author of the *Plebeian* has not any hand in that paper." One would have thought that the tone adopted by the *Patrician* in speaking of Steele was sufficiently bitter to have made it impossible to entertain a theory of collusion on his part. There was also *The Moderator*, in which the arguments on both sides were said to be fairly stated. The first and seemingly only number of this paper appeared on the 4th April.

On the 6th April the Bill was reported in the House of Lords, and the third reading fixed for the 14th, but when that day arrived Lord Stanhope announced that the design of the Bill had been so misrepresented and misunderstood that it would be

sure to meet with great opposition in the other House, and he therefore thought it advisable to let the matter drop until a more favourable opportunity occurred. Further discussion of the Bill in Parliament was accordingly put off until the next session ; but the controversy out of doors continued, and on the 2nd May Steele published a piece called *The Joint and Humble Address of the Tories and Whigs, concerning the intended Bill of Peerage*.¹ I have not seen this pamphlet in its original form, but it is reprinted in Boyer's *Political State* for May 1719. It has not hitherto been known who was the author, but the question is settled beyond a doubt by the fact that a rough draft of the whole piece in Steele's writing, with numerous alterations, is among the Blenheim papers. The pamphlet consists mainly of fervent congratulations to the King on the late escape of his Majesty and the faithful Commons from recent designs. "We look back with pleasure and amazement at your Majesty's goodness in resigning your prerogative, but with contempt and hatred on those who solicited you to it." "We shall always be ready to oppose the designs of such audacious and wicked men, who acknowledge they are determined to attempt the same violation on another occasion." "We the Whigs and Tories, who mean honestly the general good, though we pursue it by different means, shall hereafter be watchful over these projectors of our ruin, . . . those of both sides who pretend to be at the head of our parties," but who are merely self-seekers, agreeing or disagreeing with each other for their own ends. "We are resolved to animate each other into a common resolution for common safety." The Royal will was confined to the common good, and the King was implored never to let it be further confined. "Let us not, dread Sir, change certain protection for possible oppression. The Crown is ever to act by his ministers, but an unchangeable House of Peers might act unaccountably for themselves." Heaven grant his Majesty's counsellors wisdom !

¹ "This day is published, The Joint and Humble Address of the Tories and Whigs. Concerning the Bill of Peerage. Printed for J. W. and sold by Sam. Briscoe at the Bell Sauvage, Ludgate Hill" (*Postman*, April 30 to May 2, 1719). "This day is published, The joint and humble Address. . . . Sold by T. Warner at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. Price Four Pence" (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, May 2, 1719).

Parliament met again on the 23rd November, and on the 25th the Peerage Bill was brought forward in the House of Lords by the Tory Duke of Buckingham. Some concessions were made with a view of conciliating the Commons, but the measure was essentially the same as that introduced in the last Session. The Bill met with very slight opposition from the Lords, and on the 1st December it was sent down to the Commons and read there the first time. The second reading was fixed for the 8th December. In the meantime further pamphlets appeared, and some of those published in the spring were reprinted, including a volume containing the sixth impression of the four *Plebeians*, "with Remarks on the Patricians, the Old Whigs, and other pamphlets that were writ for the proposed Bill during the last Session of Parliament." But more important than all the rest was *A Letter to the Earl of O——d, concerning the Bill of Peerage, By Sir R——d S——le*, which appeared on the morning of the 8th December, the day upon which the Bill was again to come before the House of Commons.¹

The Earl of Oxford had been released from the Tower in 1717, when his impeachment had fallen through, and he had resumed his seat in the House of Lords. On the subject of this Bill he was in agreement with Steele, who thereupon took the opportunity of addressing a frank and manly letter to the fallen statesman whom, when in power, he had felt it his duty to oppose. After saying that he never had any other reason to speak against his Lordship than that which Brutus had to stab Cæsar, —the love of his country,—he apologised publicly for everything he had spoken or written to the Earl's disadvantage, "foreign to the argument and cause which I was then labouring to support." And then he proceeded: "You will please to believe I could not have been so insensible as not to be touched with the generosity of part of your conduct towards me, or have omitted to acknowledge it accordingly, if I had not thought that your very virtue was dangerous, and that it was (as the world then stood) absolutely necessary to depreciate so adventurous a genius surrounded with so much power as your Lordship then had. I transgressed, my Lord, against you when you could make twelve

¹ *Daily Courant*, *Daily Post*, and *Postman* for December 8, 1719.

peers in a day; I ask your pardon when you are a private nobleman; and, as I told you when I resigned the Stamp Office, I wish you all prosperity consistent with the public good, so I now congratulate you upon the pleasure you must needs have in looking back upon the true fortitude with which you have passed through the dangers arising from the rage of the people, and the envy of the rest of the world. If to have rightly judged of men's passions and prejudices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, and to have waited with skill and courage for proper seasons and incidents to make use of them for a man's safety and honour, can administer pleasure to a man of sense and spirit, your Lordship has abundant cause of satisfaction." The sincerity and the generosity of heart which prompted these sentences are eminently characteristic of their author. Steele, writing, he said, in haste in order to be in time to be of any use, then discussed at length the arguments against the Bill, and concluded by complimenting those who were opposing the measure. "As for me, a poor Plebeian, who, from the love of justice and virtue, have, at the entrance into old age, but just lifted my head out of obscurity into noise, clamour, and envy, be it enough to applaud and celebrate their noble qualities; be it enough for me to be permitted and forgiven."

On the afternoon of the day upon which this Letter appeared the Bill was read the second time, and a motion made that it be committed. An eight hours' debate ensued. The chief speakers for the Government were Craggs, Lechmere, and Aislable; on the other side, Walpole, Steele, Methuen, and Sir John Packington. Steele spoke first against committing the Bill, and in an able discourse, of which a lengthy report has come down to us,¹ repeated the arguments used in the Letter he had published that morning. He concluded: "For my part, I am against committing the Bill, because I think it would be committing of sin." Walpole's speech was very powerful, and made a great impression, and when the House divided only 177 voted for the Ministers, against 269 for the Opposition. It was immediately moved and carried "That this Bill be rejected."

¹ *History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, 1741, i. 202-209.* Probably, as Earl Stanhope suggests, Steele's speech was compiled from his own notes.

XI.

THEATRICAL LICENCE REVOKED. "THE THEATRE."

1719-20. ÆT. 47-8.

In spite of the striking defeat over the Peerage Bill, the Ministry appeared to be in no way shaken, and in a short time Walpole thought it well to rejoin the Government as Paymaster of the Forces. The triumph for Steele was very brief, for steps were at once taken to punish him for his independence. On the 19th December the Lord Chamberlain forbade Cibber acting or taking part in the management of Drury Lane Theatre.¹

These are to require you immediately to Dismiss M^r Colley Cibber from Acting at the Theatre in Drury Lane, and from being any ways concern'd in the management of the said Playhouse: And you Colley Cibber One of the Managers and Players at the said Theatre are hereby requir'd to cease and forbear Acting, or any ways concerning your self in the Management of the said Theatre, as you will Answer the Contrary at your Peril. Given under my Hand and Seal this 19th Day of Dec^r 1719, in the Sixth Year of His Ma^{ty}s Reign.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

To S^r Richard Steele, Robert Wilks,
Barton Booth, and the rest of the
Managers of the Theatre in Drury Lane.

The actors obeyed this order, but Steele at once wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, to whom he owed his seat at Borough-bridge, and to whom, as Lord Clare, he had dedicated his *Political Writings*:²—

¹ Lord Chamberlain's Records, Warrant Book No. 25, p. 265; and Mist's *Weekly Journal*, December 26, 1719.

² Pengelly Papers, in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Jackson.

MY LORD

Your Grace has obliged me, this Evening, with an opportunity, I have long wished for, of showing how devoted I am to your Service; but I wish for your sake, rather than my own, that you had given me any other opportunity for manifesting this unreserv'd inclination for your Person and Character, than that of bearing Oppression from you.

Your Grace's Order has as many Exceptions agst it, as so many words can carry.

Your Grace in this instance, invades my Estate as a Parliam^t man, but this honour I owe to you and I consider, if it had not been for that great generosity, I had not either provok'd or been liable to, this your great Cruelty.

I leave it to your Grace's own reflection how inconsistent it is with bestowing such a Bounty to Hurt me for my conscientious behaviour in the use of it.

M^r Cibber is a principal Actor, and many ffamilys (as well as my Property) are concern'd in his appearance on the Stage. I hope your Grace, in the determination of this proceeding, will give way to your own Temper, which I know must be diverted from its natural Bent, when you offer an Injury.

You have Greatness, Honour, and High Station to Support, and Act in, my part only is (what I know from long Habitude I am capable of) to preserve Resolution to Struggle, with ill Usage, in a Glorious Cause.

I am, My Lord

Your Graces most obedient
and most humble Serv^t

RICHARD STEELE.

Duke of Newcastle.

The reasons afterwards given, unofficially, for the suspension of Cibber, were that he had insolently and traitorously abused the Ministry and the King himself in the dedication to Steele of his play, *Ximena*; and that when the Lord Chamberlain told Cibber upon one occasion that he wished a certain part performed by a particular actor, which was generally taken by one of the managers, Cibber replied that it could not be done, because the part belonged to one of the managers; and when his Lordship urged his authority, Cibber, in half a laugh, said

that "they were a sort of a separate ministry," and absolutely refused to obey.¹

The reply to Steele's letter was a message from the Duke, sent by his secretary, forbidding Steele ever to write, speak, or visit him more. Steele answered that he could not have had such a message from any family, except the Royal one, which would have given him half the mortification he felt; but if any other man had been Chamberlain his reply would have been as haughty as it was now humble. The secretary then left, declaring that the Patent should be prosecuted according to law.²

While the blow was pending Steele started a new periodical, *The Theatre*, on the 2nd January 1720. It was published on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and was continued until April 5, when the twenty-eighth and last number appeared. The paper was intended as a vindication of Steele and the other managers, and of the stage in general, and it contains much that is of biographical interest. A "Sir John Edgar" was the imaginary author, but little use was made of him or of other characters mentioned in the first number. In the second number Steele said he should not confine his attention to the Theatre, but would employ his pen on any other subject, whenever the service of his country called upon him. The stage is a representation of the world, and the world is but a more extended stage; he would, therefore, be Auditor-General of the real and imaginary Theatres. The *Theatre* showed no signs of falling off in the author's powers, and it was in great demand. Copies of the original numbers are very scarce, and became so immediately after publication. Dr. Thomas Rundle wrote to his friend, Mrs. Barbara Sandys, on the 24th March: "Sir R. Steele publishes twice a week a new paper called *The Theatre*, written in the spirit of the old Tatlers; though it is pretty hard for a man to keep up a spirit in distress;" and, again: "I am sorry I could not get for you a whole set of Theatres; the very best are wanting. The demand for them was so great that even his fiercest enemies

¹ *The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain and Sir Richard Steele re-stated*, 1720.

² *Theatre*, No. 8.

bought them up, and enjoyed the author, while they persecute the man.”¹ In his fourth paper Sir John Edgar said he had been called a “whimsical” Socrates, who was indicted because he did not acknowledge the gods which the city acknowledged, was the leader of all such as have ever since been called “whimsical; . . . of all such as can prefer the admonition of that throbbing particle of divinity within us to the clamour, the impertunity, the hurry, the calumny, of the whole mistaken world around us.” The “whimsical” are supported by fortitude; the “wrong-headed” by obstinacy. In the seventh number, for January 23, Steele returned to the Theatre, and discussed the recent action taken against Cibber, and how impracticable it was for the players to be governed as to their economy, salaries, parts, &c., by any but themselves, and those of acknowledged superiority among them.

On this same day the licence was revoked. The Duke of Newcastle sent for Booth, Steele’s brother manager, and threatened that he would obtain a sign manual to silence the Theatre, before he proceeded against Steele according to law. Amazed at this audacious proceeding against the validity of a Patent from the King, Steele wrote, he says, to two great Ministers, to implore their assistance and protection, in order to avert this intended outrage upon the King’s authority and the subjects’ property; but so great was the rage conceived against him, that not the least notice was taken of his remonstrance.² Steele really wrote, on the 17th January, to four Privy Councillors—the Lord Chancellor, James Craggs, Earl Stanhope, and the Duke of Argyle. He mentioned that he had justly been subjected to a penalty of £500 for his absence from the Commission in Scotland, and this and the attack on the playhouse had extremely reduced his finances and credit. On the 20th, Serjeant Pengelly, after reading the Patent of 1715 and the licence granted in 1714,

¹ *Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, LL.D., Lord Bishop of Derry, in Ireland, to Mrs. Barbara Sandys, 1789, ii. 11, 12, 22.* Pope and Swift both thought very highly of Dr. Rundle. Swift wrote, “He is beloved by all people;” and Pope, who said “Rundle has a heart,” also wrote, “He will be a friend to the human race wherever he goes.” “The man has learning, sense, and morals,” said Swift.

² *The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain, &c., 1720.*

gave an opinion that the Patent (with the extraordinary powers which he did not think legal) did not prevent the King from giving a licence to others to have the management of a company of comedians for His Majesty's service under the control of the Chamberlain, and he advised that the licence to Steele and the others should be revoked, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth being served with a copy, and another copy being left for Steele, after which the Lord Chamberlain might by order silence the several persons and bid them forbear acting, and then His Majesty might give a new licence, and if any of the present managers disobeyed the Lord Chamberlain, might give such orders as he should think fit.¹ On Friday the 22nd, as a last resource, Steele presented, in the presence of the Lord Chamberlain, the following Petition to the King:²—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The humble Petition of Sir Richard Steele.

Sheweth

That Your Pet^r is possessed by Letters Patent of the Sole Government & Authority of keeping a Company of Comedians under the Title of the Royal Company of Comedians.

That the Lord Chamberlain of Your Majesty's Household has by a written Order intimidated a principal Comedian from Acting, & by promises does encourage other Actors to Disturb Your Pet^r's said Government to the Great prejudice of his Fortune & Property.

That Your Pet^r is further threatened with an Extraordinary use of Your Majesty's Power to the disappointment & frustrating his said Authority.

That Your Pet^r humbly Conceives that he has fully answered all the Designes of Your Ma^{ty}'s Grant, to the Great Improvement of the Theatre.

Your Pet^r therefore most humbly prays,
He may not be any way molested but
by due Course of Law.

And Your Pet^r shall ever pray etc.

¹ Papers belonging to the late Rev. T. W. Webb (Hist. MSS. Commission, Seventh Report, 692).

² State Papers (Domestic), George I., Bdle. 15, No. 106. Undated, and wrongly assigned to 1718 in the MS. Calendar at the Record Office. Steele's autograph signature is on the back of this Petition. The date is given in Steele's *State of the Case*, &c.

The only effect of this Petition was the following order next day: ¹—

GEORGE R.

Whereas by Our Royall Licence bearing Date the 18th day of Octob^r 1714 We did give and Grant unto Richard Steele Esq^r now S^r Rich^d Steele Kn^t M^r Rob^t Wilks M^r Colley Cibber M^r Thomas Doggett and M^r Barton Booth full power Licence and Authority to form Constitute & Establish for Us a Company of Comedians with free Licence to Act and Represent Comedies, Tragedies, and other Theatrical performances, Subject to such Rules and Orders for their Good Government therein as they shall receive from time to time from the Chamberlain of Our Household; Such Licence to continue during Our Pleasure and no longer.

And having receiv'd Information of Great Misbehaviours Committed by Our Company of Comedians now Acting at the Theatre in Drury Lane for want of a Regular Managem^t of Our said Company, and from the Neglect of a due Subordination and Submission to the Authority of Our Chamberlain, and other Officers of Our Household.

Therefore for Reforming and Regulating the Comedians in Our Service and for Establishing the Just and Antient Authority of the Officers of Our Household and more Especially of Our Chamberlain We have thought fit to Revoke the Above mentioned Licence Given by Us to the said Richard Steele, Rob^t Wilks, Colley Cibber, Thomas Doggett, and Barton Booth.

And Wee do further (as much as in Us lies and as by Law Wee may) Revoke and make void all other Licences Powers and Authoritys whatsoever, at any time heretofore Given by Us to the said Rich^d Steele, Ro^t Wilks, Colley Cibber, Thomas Doggett, and Barton Booth, or to any of them Severally, for the Care and managem^t of Our Company of Comedians Acting at the Theatre in Drury Lane, or for Acting and Representing any Comedies, Tragedies or other Theatrical performances, or to that or the like purpose or Effect. And Wee doe hereby Accordingly Declare Our Royall Pleasure that all such Licences, powers, and Authorities shall be and are hereby Revok'd and made void.

Given at Our Court at S^t James's this 23^d day of Jan^y 1719, in the Sixth Year of Our Reign

By his Maj^{ty}s Command

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

¹ Lord Chamberlain's Records, Warrant Book No. 25, p. 279.

This was on Saturday; and on the evening of the same day, according to Mist's *Weekly Journal*,¹ a proclamation was read from the stage suspending performances at the Theatre. "On Saturday night, after the actors at the Play-house in Drury Lane had performed the Maid's Tragedy, a Proclamation was made upon the stage from the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chamberlain, signifying that it was his Majesty's pleasure to suspend for the present any more acting at that House." The Lord Chamberlain's warrant is dated January 25.²

Whereas His Majesty has thought fitt, by his Letters of Revocation bearing Date the Twenty Third Day of January 1719 (for Divers Weighty Reasons therein contained) to Revoke his Royall Licence, heretofore granted to Richard Steele Esq^r now S^r Richard Steele K^{nt}, M^r Robert Wilks, M^r Colley Cibber, M^r Thomas Doggett and M^r Barton Booth, for the fforming and Constituting for his Majesty, a Company of Comediāns, with free Licence to Act and Represent Comedies, Tragedies, and other Theatrical performances.

And Whereas It is highly Necessary for His Majesties Service, that the Just and Antient Rules and Methods, for the Regulation of the Theatre, be Strictly Observed, Thro' the Voluntary Neglect whereof, Great Offence has been of late publicly given, and Undue Demands Impos'd upon his Majesties Good Subjects, by the Managers and Comedians at the Theatre in Drury Lane in Covent Garden.

For the Effectual prevention of any future Misbehaviour, In Obedience to his Majestys Commands, I Doe, by vertue of My Office of Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, Hereby Discharge You the said Managers and Comedians at the said Theatre in Drury Lane in Covent Garden from farther Acting; And Doe hereby Require You, and Every of You, Imediately upon the Receipt hereof, to Cease and forbear Acting, or Representing any Comedies, Tragedies, or other Theatrical performances whatsoever, untill You shall Receive further Licence, Order and Directions for that purpose. And all Comedians Entertain'd, or Kept in his Majesties Service, or being his Majestys Servants, are hereby Strictly forbid to Act, or Represent any Comedies, Tragedies or other Theatrical performances, at the said Theatre in Drury Lane, without his Majestys New Licence, or other proper Order and Direction, for

¹ January 30, 1720. In the same number are some verses abusing Cibber, called "Parnassus Aggrieved, an Allusion to some late Insolencies from the Theatre Royal."

² Lord Chamberlain's Records, Warrant Book No. 25, p. 280.

that purpose first duly had and Obtain'd: Hereby Requiring this Order to be Observed, as You will Answer the Contrary at your Perill. Given under my hand and Seal this Twenty Fifth Day of January 1719 And in the Sixth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

To the Gentlemen Managing the
Company of Comedians at the Theatre
in Drury Lane in Covent Garden, and
to all the Comedians and Actors there.

Two days later, on the 27th January, a licence signed by the Lord Chamberlain as well as by the King was granted to Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, to be held during the Royal pleasure.¹ On the 26th Steele published in the *Theatre* a long letter which he had on the previous day sent to the Duke of Newcastle, "My most honoured Lord and Patron." In this letter Steele remarked that while the King in his order had said that nothing but the law should hurt his subjects, in the words "as much as in us lies, and as by law we may," his Grace had been prevailed upon to supply the defective hardship. Steele asked one favour, before his Grace quite broke his heart and spirit, which was, that he would give him the name of his lawyer. Of this adviser—Sir Thomas Pengelly, then Prime Serjeant, and afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer—Steele spoke very bitterly. "When I know who has made your Grace thus injure the best Master and best Servant that ever man had, I will teach him the difference between Law and Justice." Finally, he appealed for consideration on behalf of some sixty families, who all lived comfortably, and many of them plentifully, under his jurisdiction, but who might now be governed according to humour and caprice, and consigned to distress and poverty.²

¹ On the 4th March the King's Company of Comedians belonging to Drury Lane Theatre, who had been acting in obedience to His Majesty's licence, lately granted, exclusive of the Patent formerly obtained by Steele, were sworn at the Lord Chamberlain's Office. The tenor of the oath was, that they would act subservient to the Lord Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, and Gentleman Usher in Waiting (*London Journal*, March 5, 1720).

² From a draft among the Blenheim MSS., Steele appears to have written again to the Duke of Newcastle at some subsequent date:—

MY LORD

I have waited with great patience from Reflection upon your Graces Former patronage and Goodness towards me without prosecuting my Demand

This letter, and other remarks on the subject by "the injured knight" in subsequent numbers of the *Theatre*, producing no effect, Steele published a pamphlet called *The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the Opinions of Pemberton, Northey, and Parker, concerning the Theatre.*¹ When the Patent was passing, Steele was, he says, informed that the grant would be an infringement upon those under which Rich claimed, and that this point might be thoroughly cleared up, he obtained permission for the reference to be addressed to both the Attorney and Solicitor General, and the terms of the Patent were settled by the joint consent of Sir Edward Northey and Mr. Lechmere. "They agreed the King could grant this; and

of the possession of the playhouse from which your Grace thought fit to Expell me. A late Indisposition has awaken'd me to a Quicker Sense of the Duties of Life. Under that circumstance a very great Horror lay upon me from my Negligences and Inadvertences that hurt my Creditors and my Family to neither of whom am I able to be just Except I am justly dealt with by others. My Heart throbs and my Eyes flow when I talk thus to my Once Dear and Honoured Duke of Newcastle. But the Business of this paper is to acquaint Your Grace that I shall petition the King to review his Orders which Your Grace has been pleas'd to call and treat as a Revocation of the Grant to me though his Majesties words took care to protect me against you if I had Law on my side. I never provok'd your Anger or Resisted your Will in any thing wherein it was in my power to shew my Duty and Respect to you and can confidently say I always have been and am

My Lord

Your Graces Most Obed^t and Most Devoted Humb Serv^t

From a letter to Serjeant Pengelly (the Rev. J. C. Jackson's papers) it would seem that Steele threatened to take action against the players.

DEAR S^p,

The enclosed was by S^r R^d Steels Attorney served last night upon y^e players. He seems very fully to insist upon His Sole Power, and has also told them He will prosecute them by law. I begg you will be so good as to consider w^t further steps are necessary. I am going out of town, and shall not return till Monday, when I will receive y^e Kings order for the Attorney Gen^l

I am D^r S^r

Y^r most obedient Hum^{ble} Serv^t

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

Friday morning.

¹ Mentioned in the *Theatre* for March 29, and advertised as to be published "this afternoon."

I shall take care to assert my right to what he has granted." He estimated the loss he had sustained as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Six hundred a year, for life, moderately valued at	6000	0	0
The three years after my life	1800	0	0
My share in the scenes, stock, &c.	1000	0	0
The profit of acting my own plays already written, or those I may write	1000	0	0
	£9800 . 0 . 0		

"I never did one act to provoke this attempt; nor does the Chamberlain pretend to assign any direct reason of forfeiture, but openly and wittingly declares, 'he will ruin Steele.' . . . All this is done against a man to whom Whig, Tory, Roman Catholic, Dissenter, Native, and Foreigner owe zeal and good will for good offices endeavoured towards everyone of them in their civil rights; and their kind wishes to him are but a just return. But what ought to weigh most with his Lordship, the Chamberlain, is my zeal for his Master; of which I shall at present say no more than that his Lordship and many others may perhaps have done more for the House of Hanover than I have; but I am the only man in his Majesty's dominions who did all he could."

A reply to this pamphlet appeared, called *The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household and Sir Richard Steele, as represented by that Knight, re-stated, in vindication of King George, and the Most Noble the Duke of Newcastle*.¹ The writer aimed at showing that the Duke had done nothing against Steele's Patent but what was according to precedent and the constant practice of other Lord Chamberlains. Either the Chamberlain must quit the authority possessed by all his predecessors, or Steele must quit his usurped authority, which no patentee before him ever pretended to. What had Steele done to improve the tone of the Theatre? He had, too, barbarously treated gentlemen of merit and learning, whose plays he had not only kept from being read and acted,

¹ "Published this day" (*Post-Boy*, April 7-9, 1720).

but never could be prevailed with in six years to return them to the authors. What services had he rendered? They consisted only "in publishing some penny papers, and two or three pamphlets. I say publishing, because not the hundredth part of them was written by himself, for which he at that time received a very plentiful reward; and after the King's accession to the crown a present at one time of five hundred pounds, and posts which might have been to him, and would have been to anybody else, worth three thousand pounds a year." A year after this was written the Lord Chamberlain had to readmit Steele to a share in the profits of the Theatre.

It seems probable that John Dennis was the author of the defence of the Lord Chamberlain just described, a theory which is strengthened by the fact that Dennis could write feelingly about the delay in acting plays submitted to the managers; for in letters dated September 4, 1719, and March 26, 1720, he complained that although his version of "Coriolanus" had been warmly approved of by Steele, Cibber, and Booth after a dinner at Steele's house in February 1718, yet the performance of the play had been postponed from time to time in order to make room for less worthy pieces; a breach of faith which had brought him within the danger of want.¹ Anyhow, we know that Dennis published, on the 23rd January, a venomous and, in all probability, a hireling pamphlet entitled *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, called by himself Sole Monarch of the Stage in Drury Lane; and his three Deputy Governors. In two Letters to Sir John Edgar*. These Letters are a medley of sneers at Steele's early life, some of which have been already referred to, with allusions to his personal appearance—his "black peruke" and "dusky countenance"—and criticisms of what he had written upon the drama.² Dennis also introduced a bitter attack upon Colley

¹ Dennis's play, *The Invader of his Country*, was acted on November 11, 1719, after being put off from November 10. It was acted only three times, after which the managers gave out another play. Dennis complained bitterly of their conduct in a long Dedication to the Duke of Newcastle prefixed to the play.

² There is a tradition that Steele was once arrested through having become security for Dennis, and that when Dennis heard of it he only exclaimed, "S'death! why did he not keep out of the way, as I did?"

Cibber,¹ who had in the September preceding dedicated his tragedy of *Ximena* to Steele, and while speaking warmly of the benefit the Theatre had derived from Steele's writings, and of his services to his country, had noticed that one of the weapons used against Steele was the charge that everything that was attributed to him which had merit was really by Addison. This, Cibber argued, could never have been said had it not been for the diffusive benevolence of Steele's heart; and then he had the bad taste to apply to the case what Mark Antony says of Octavius in Dryden's *All for Love*:—

“ Fool that I was! Upon my Eagle's wings
I bore this Wren, till I was tired with soaring,
And now, he mounts above me.”²

In the twelfth number of the *Theatre*, after some severe but well-merited remarks upon Dennis, Steele expressed regret at the unguarded warmth which had led Cibber to make this unfortunate quotation. Dennis's remarks on this subject, Steele said, had given him vexation, even to tears. “It could not be imagined that to diminish a worthy man, as soon as he was no more to be seen, could add to him who had always raised, and almost worshipped, him when living. There never was a more strict friendship than between those gentlemen; nor had they ever any difference but what proceeded from their different way of pursuing the same thing. The one with patience, foresight, and temperate address always waited and stemmed the torrent; while the other often plunged himself into it, and was as often taken out by the temper of him who stood weeping on the brink for his safety, whom he could not dissuade from leaping into

¹ Cibber put an advertisement in the *Daily Post* for February 10, 1720, offering ten pounds reward to any one who would, by a legal proof, discover the author of this pamphlet.

² This passage had been noticed in some verses published in *Mist's Weekly Journal* for October 31, 1719:—

“ Thus Colley Cibber greets his partner Steele,
See here, Sir Knight, how I've outdone Corneille!
See here, how I, my patrons to inveigle,
Make Addison a wren, and you an eagle!
Safe to their silent shades we bid defiance,
For living dogs are better than dead lions.”

it." What follows, as to the separate paths the friends took, has already been quoted. Steele had contrived that Addison's modesty should no longer hide his prodigious talents (which Steele only knew) from the rest of the world. Instead of obscuring the merit of his deceased friend, the world owed to his skill, importunity, and candour the knowledge of Addison's merit when living. No one could be so mean as to believe he saw Cibber's Dedication before the whole town was in possession of it. For the future he would be nowhere tongue-tied, and his country might thus be the better for his mortifications. "There is not now in his sight that excellent man, whom Heaven made his friend and superior, to be, at a certain place, in pain for what he should say or do. I will go on in his further encouragement; the best woman that ever man had cannot now lament and pine at his neglect of himself. He may be confirmed still further: his children are too young to know the ill consequence of his daring in the public cause. Friendship, love and pity, to those who have sensibility, will suggest why this paper must end here."

Dennis afterwards published another pamphlet, *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, and his three Deputy Governors, . . . in a Third and Fourth Letter to the Knight*, with a Dedication to the Duke of Newcastle, dated March 21. Steele complained, said Dennis, that he was hindered from going to law with the Lord Chamberlain; but who could help laughing at this complaint from one who for the last twenty years had been up to the ears in law, and would be so to the end? As for Steele's beauty, every woman for three years last past who spoke of him called him the Black Knight, or the Knave of Clubs. He was of a middle stature, broad shoulders, thick legs, a short chin, a short nose, a short forehead, a broad flat face, and a dusky countenance. He had been everything by proxy and by deputy. For years his debts, due to squandering, had filled him with such fear, that he never felt safe unless he had the Horse and Foot Guards for his security; Daniel Purcell gave him the name of Major-General Hide. Finally, he had for two years owed Dennis twelve guineas, which he promised to pay in a week. Very different was the tone adopted by the writer of

the *Anti-Theatre*, "by Sir John Falstaffe," a paper of which Steele spoke with respect, though it was largely occupied in answering the arguments in the *Theatre*. In the first number this writer said: "No temptation shall make me break in upon the rules of civility, or intrude upon the private concerns of life. Sir John has been too barbarously treated this way already."¹

Steele devoted one number of the *Theatre* to the memory of his friend John Hughes, who had died a few hours after the performance of his tragedy, *The Siege of Damascus*. He spoke in feeling terms of the kindly, patient nature of the young man whose life had been one long sickness, but who had been always occupied in raising his own mind, or that of others, to a more cheerful prosecution of what was noble and virtuous. His amiable spirit was now freed from the painful instrument of anguish and sorrow in which, for a few tedious years, he panted with a lively hope for his present condition. It was for them, said Steele, to alleviate his widowed mother's sorrow by making his last labour, now on the stage, as beneficial as possible to his family.² Another characteristic paper is upon Men of Honour.³ "There is no true honour but in a man's self; and it signifies nothing what a man is called, but merely as it represents what a man is. When a Plebeian acts an improper thing merely because

¹ Quoted in the *Theatre*, No. 14. The *Anti-Theatre* appeared twice a week, from the 15th February to the 4th April 1720, the last known number being No. 15. Steele closed the *Theatre* on the 5th April, and on the 8th the following advertisement appeared in the *Daily Post*: "To-morrow will be published, the Theatre, No. xvi. By Sir John Falstaffe. To be continued every Tuesday and Saturday as usual." In Mist's *Weekly Journal* for April 9 this No. xvi. was also advertised: "This day is published," &c. Among the pamphlets relating to Dennis's attack on Steele were "An Answer to a whimsical pamphlet, called the Character of Sir John Edgar, &c., humbly inscribed to Sir Tremendous Longinus. Written by Sir John Edgar's Baker, mentioned in the third Theatre," which is dated January 26 (published February 11), and consists of scurrilous statements, with hints about bailiffs and garrets, not any better than Dennis's own production; and "A full consideration and confutation of Sir John Edgar. By Sir Andrew Artlove Knight and Baronet," printed in Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal*, February 13, 20, and 27. Another feeble attack on Steele appeared in *The Muse's Gazette*, No. viii., published in Applebee's *Journal* for April 20. "A New Project for the regulation of the Stage. By Mr. D—nis and Mr. G—don," was advertised on February 5, and reached a second edition, but I have not seen a copy.

² No. 15.

³ No. 16.

he can do it with impunity, he is impudent; when a Nobleman transgresses due bounds, he is insolent. . . . Let all men therefore, especially we who have the honour of Knighthood,¹ keep our stand above the inferior world by a superiority in our thoughts, words, and actions; as well knowing that our title does not make, but admonish us to be, Men of Honour. Persons who are truly such make it visible in a peculiar manner of treating men below them." In another place he speaks of duelling, and of the passion of anger, or the want of temper, in case of being under the influence of too much wine. "Young men are not to believe that merely to dare is to be valiant; no, it consists in daring nothing but what becomes them."²

In the last number of the *Theatre*, published in his own name on the 5th April, Steele said that the occasion for the paper was now over, because what he hoped to defend by it was out of his possession. "All the world knows, that further attempts against me have been made, as if in concert, to undo me utterly; and that, since the beginning of this winter, I have been attacked in more than one circumstance. My adversaries have descended likewise to the poorest and meanest examinations into my little, private affairs. But, I thank God, the removal of their cruelty would remove such wants; but their wants can be supplied by no less a power than His who can give men honesty." As to the *Theatre*, "I desire any man who judges of it, to consider it as it is, not the product of a mind at ease, but written by a man neither out of pain in body or mind, yet forced to suspend the

¹ "This day is published 'A Word without Doors, or, a paradox proving the Honour of deserving a Knighthood exceeds the Title. In two Letters (that lately passed betwixt a Clergyman of the Church of England and Mr. John Dunton, the unrewarded author of Neck or Nothing) intitled, A Comparison between Sir Richard Steele and Mr. John Dunton, with other Court secrets which have hitherto been concealed'" (*Anti-Theatre*, March 29, 1720).

² No. 19. A drunken quarrel, which terminated fatally, had just occurred near Windsor between two friends, William Aldword, Esq., Commissioner for the Affairs of Taxes, and Owen Buckingham, Esq., M.P., Commissioner of the Victualling Office. A Bill to prevent duelling was at once introduced into Parliament, and passed in the House of Commons, but was thrown out in the House of Lords. In No. 26 Steele took occasion to praise his friend, Mr. Fuller, M.P. (who had contributed to the *Tatler* at the age of 16), for declaring, in spite of the prevailing custom, that "he triumphed more in being a second to prevent, than he should have been in being one to promote, murder."

anguish of both ; with the addition of powerful men soliciting my ruin, shy looks from my acquaintance, surly behaviour from my domestics, with all the train of private and public calamity, and that for no other reason but pursuing what he thought just ; and then let him say to himself whether he could carry his gaiety much further than I have.¹ . . . To manifest further the injury done me by robbing me of the means of bringing on my own performances in an advantageous manner, I shall forthwith print a new comedy called *Sir John Edgar* ;² and hope proper allowances will be made, and due consideration had that a play is not designed so much for the reader as the spectator." Finally, he announced that since a late judgment³ in his favour concerning a ridiculed invention—the Fish Pool—he wanted nothing but that men would support a design of his, by which they might divide about ten per cent. six times a year, to be in possession of a much greater income than any man had merit enough to deserve. Steele remained thus hopeful in spite of all his troubles.

¹ "Sr. R. Steele has affixed his name to y^e Theatre of Tuesday, which he tells you is to be the last, it falls [?] wholly upon himself, yet in my opinion it is not the meanest of his performances ; he not only seems to feel what he writes, but makes others feel it too, for I declare myself to be very sensibly touched with the narrative of his condition and would do anything in my power to make it easier, for I cannot but think it very hard, y^t he who has spent his time and his thoughts in endeavouring to render others happy, should himself be made thus miserable." Thos. Isted to Dr. Charlett, April 7, 1720 ; Ballard MSS. (Bodleian), vol. xxxiii. f. 107.

² "Though Sir R. Steele is not permitted to act his Play, yet he is resolved to entertain us every way he can ; and his favourite, *Sir John Edgar*, will be published very quickly ; if while I am in London, I will take care to send it ; if not, Knapton shall have orders to do it" (Dr. Rundle to Mrs. Sandys, April or May 1720). On March 24 Dr. Rundle had written about the French players at the Haymarket Theatre. "It is said a most excellent comedy of Sir Richard Steele's is to be prohibited acting, lest it should draw away good company, and spoil the relish for operas, by seducing them with sense, wit and humour" (*Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, LL.D.*, ii. 12, 13, 18-20).

³ I have not been able to find any record of this judgment, but the reference is probably to the decision in the Chancery action instituted against Steele and Gillmore by Sansome in 1718.

XII.

THE SOUTH SEA SCHEME.

1720-1. ÆT. 48-9.

PUBLIC interest was absorbed throughout the year 1720 in the financial transactions which centred round the South Sea Scheme. The wars of Queen Anne's reign had led to a great increase in the amount of the public debt, and most of the money had necessarily been borrowed on high terms. Money had now become cheaper, and the rate of interest had fallen, but the Government was unable to alter the rate it paid, because most of what had been borrowed was in the form of irredeemable annuities, many of them for ninety-nine years. Efforts to reduce the National Debt had been made by Harley in 1711, and by Walpole in 1717. In 1711 the Company of Merchants trading to the South Seas was started, and in 1713 they were given the monopoly of the advantage granted to England at Utrecht, viz., the Assiento, or supply of slaves for the Spanish West Indies. In 1717 Walpole established the first Sinking Fund, borrowing money at four per cent., and paying off liabilities bearing a higher rate of interest. The Government was now anxious to continue this policy, and they had an example before them in the great Mississippi Scheme which Law had conducted with such apparent success in France during the past few months. That scheme reached the height of its success in December 1719. In January 1720 Law was made Comptroller-General of the finances of France, but Defoe and others had already begun to point out the infatuation under which the people were labouring.¹ Lord Stair, our ambassador at Paris, denounced

¹ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, November 28, December 12, 1719, January 2, 1720, &c.

Law, but the Ministry were such firm believers in Law's power that Lord Stair, when he refused either to be silent or to resign, was recalled.

The South Sea Company, wishing to extend its operations, came forward and offered to add the whole of the redeemable and irredeemable annuities, said to amount to thirty-two millions, to its capital, receiving, instead of the seven or eight per cent. paid to the annuitants, five per cent. until 1727, and afterwards four per cent. until the capital and interest should be returned. In the case of irredeemable annuities, the exchange must, of course, be voluntary, but as regards the redeemable annuities, the payment, though it must be offered in full, might be given in the shares of the South Sea Company. Other companies entered into competition, and the Bank of England and the South Sea Company made counter-proposals, the offer of the Company being finally accepted upon their making to the Government a payment of seven millions and a half. The next step was to make the Company's shares popular, in order to induce annuitants to agree to the transfer, and this was accomplished by inventing a large amount of capital, which was distributed as bribes among Ministers and courtiers.

At this stage Steele published, on the 1st February, *The Crisis of Property*, "an argument proving that the annuitants for ninety-nine years, as such, are not in the condition of other subjects of Great Britain; but, by compact with the Legislature, are exempt from any new direction relating to the said Estates. By Sir Richard Steele, Knight, Member of Parliament, and Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians." In this pamphlet he protested against the theory that because the estates of these creditors to the nation were then worth more than they cost, therefore the possessors of them were to be considered and treated like usurers and extortioners. There was nothing to entitle the Government to an equity of redemption from the bargain made when the money was borrowed. Credit, from its very nature, is utterly destroyed when the borrower pretends to intermeddle with what is lent, except by the command or with the approbation of the lender. The invitation to the

annuitants, though voluntary in form, was in reality a command. "If I can suffer with resolution a little longer out of a sick-bed, I will show some half-politicians that they know nothing of what they are doing." On the day when this was published, a Committee of the whole House resolved that the proposals of the South Sea Company should be accepted; Walpole was the principal advocate for the Bank of England scheme.

In less than a week a second edition of the *Crisis of Property* was called for,¹ but Steele's plain speaking was so much resented that it was reported he would, for the second time, be expelled the House of Commons. On the 18th February, Vanbrugh wrote to Tonson, who was in Paris: "Our South Sea is become a sort of young Mississippi by the Stocks rising so vastly: I am, however, only a looker on, and a Rejoycer, not an Envyer, of other people's good Fortune. . . . People in general are much pleased with the Parliamentary Schemes lately started. But Sr R. Steele is grown such a Malcontent that he now takes the Ministry directly for his mark; and treats them (in the House) for some days past in so very frank a manner that they grow quite angry, and 'tis talk'd as if it wou'd not be im-

¹ *Evening Post*, February 4-6, 1720. Among the pamphlets written in answer to the *Crisis of Property* was *The Crisis of Honour*. "Being an answer to the Crisis of Property. In a Letter to Sir R—— S——" (*Daily Courant*, March 3). This is a personal attack on Steele, but contains little that is not repetition of Dennis's abuse. The writer says it would be well if Steele concerned himself with his own credit, and sneers at what Steele had written in praise of Addison and Lady Steele: he was now able to follow his natural course without check from them. In his next the writer would consider Steele's merit, services, economy, and income; what his writings had produced, what collections had been made for him," &c. An answer to this tract appeared: *Scandal no Argument*. "An Oxford Annuitant's Letter to Sir Richard Steele. In answer to the Crisis of Honesty" (*Evening Post*, March 31 to April 2). Other pamphlets were: "A Letter from Signior Beneditti Baldassari, of the Haymarket, to Sir Richard Steele, of Drury Lane" (*Daily Post*, March 16); "The Equity of Parliaments, and Publick Faith Vindicated. In answer to the Crisis of Property," by Sir John Meres, F.R.S. (*Daily Post*, March 18); "An Account of the public debts at the Exchequer, as they now stand. . . . To which is added Seasonable Observations on the Annuities, in answer to Sir Richard Steele's Crisis," folio; and "An Impartial Enquiry into the value of South Sea Stock. . . . In a Letter to Sir Richard Steele, Knt.," by "A. B.," folio. These papers contain nothing of biographical interest. The author of "The Equity of Parliaments," Sir John Meres, was, it may be noted, elected Governor of the York Buildings Company in September 1723 (*Daily Journal*, September 18, 1723).

possible, to see him very soon expell'd the House. I don't know whether you have heard, he has a month ago worked a Quarrell so high with my Lord Chamberlain, that a New Licence has been granted to Wilks, Cibber and Booth which they accepting of and acting under, left him with his Patent but not one player. And so the Lord Chamberlain's authority over the Play house is restor'd, and the Patent ends in a joke."¹

On the 26th February² Steele published *A Nation a Family*: "Being the sequel of the Crisis of Property; or, a Plan for the improvement of the South Sea Proposal." We need not enter into the details of Steele's own Plan for making the Nation a Family by converting the public debts into annuities for life. If the South Sea Company aimed at profit to themselves by their Proposal, it could only arise either by injuring annuitants, the wards of the Government, and by that means taint parliamentary credit, or by ruining and starving the bulk of the nation by engrossing trade. No sum could be given for the loss of the belief that a parliamentary engagement is unalterable, and that what Parliament has sold can never be redeemed but at the request of the owner. These arguments Steele repeated in the *Theatre*. "Credit is a belief that money is as safe and more commodious in the possession of another than in a man's own hands. . . . Any the least suspicion of national credit is the greatest wound a Government can receive."³ The price of the Company's stock had been artificially forced up; it was threatened that it was to rise to 300 per cent., though it was not intrinsically worth £100. "The skill of stock-jobbing is nothing else but to act boldly when others are in fear, to be cautious when others are bold. If this should be done by those who may get the secret of public affairs, they would not be so honest as highwaymen: they would be setters⁴ and highwaymen too; with this further advantage above the gentlemen of the road, that they would have nothing to deter them but guilt; as to the rest, they would act with

¹ Papers of Mr. Baker, of Bayfordbury.

² *Daily Courant*, February 26, 1720. Announced to be published "tomorrow" (*Theatre*, February 23), and as published "this day" (*Ibid.*, February 27).

³ *Theatre*, No. 17.

⁴ Those who find out persons to be plundered (A.S. sætere). Poins says: "O, 'tis our setter: I know his voice. Bardolph, what news?" (1 Hen. iv., ii. 2).

safety and impunity. . . . If this affair is not put upon the basis of trade, and that in a visible way of profit, with consideration of the contingencies, a loss it will be; and is nothing but a great appearance, a bulky phantom.”¹ The inducement to these proceedings was the observation of what had been done in France; but it was much less dangerous to take a bone out of the jaws of a French lap-dog than the hold of an English mastiff. Whatever convenience might result to the Government from the adoption of the South Sea project, the promoters of it were but shallow politicians, and did not understand the maxim that honesty is the best policy. “I have been told I know nothing of this matter; I do not, forsooth, understand figures. If I do not, by the blessing of God I very soon will, as well as the greatest sharper in England; but this much I know of numbers already, that they consist of cyphers and figures; and in this Project there is no more necessary to judges of it, but that the bubbles are the mere cyphers which are to make the sharpeners significant figures.” No one could join in the Project except by loss to the rest of his countrymen. There was nothing to hinder the Parliament and Company from being the same persons, and if they were, would the first care of their representatives be of the people or of the Company? ²

On the 23rd March, upon the reading of the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Grand Committee upon the “Bill for enabling the South Sea Company to increase their capital stock,” &c., it was moved that in order to render effectual and certain to the public the undertaking of the Company to accept the annuities for certain terms of years, it be an instruction to the Committee, that they should have power to receive proposals from the Company, whereby it might be fixed what share of the increased capital stock the proprietors of the annuities should be entitled to enjoy who should voluntarily subscribe the same into the South Sea stock, or how many years’ purchase in money they should have upon subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors; and that the Committee should have power to receive a clause or clauses accordingly. In the very warm

¹ *Theatre*, No. 20, March 8, 1720.

² *Ibid.*, No. 23, March 19, 1720.

debate which followed this motion the Walpoles, Steele, and others spoke on behalf of the annuitants, who, they said, had made a contract with the Government, and ought not to be left at the mercy of a private Company. The Ministers urged that to oblige the Company to fix a price upon the annuities might endanger the success of the undertaking, and that, as it was the interest of the Company to take in these annuities, they would no doubt offer advantageous conditions to the annuitants. If, after a proper time, it was found that reasonable terms had not been offered, Parliament could then take further action. Upon a division the motion was lost by four votes, the numbers being 144 against 140; and as soon as the result was known, the price of the Company's shares rose to nearly £400. The South Sea Bill received the Royal assent in April, when Law was already in difficulties; in a few weeks' time everything was over in France, and Law was insulted by the mob.

It is not necessary to dwell at length on the subsequent history of the mania in this country; there were fluctuations, but so great was the confidence felt in the Directors that many persons deposited in their hands their annuities, without knowing what price the Company would allow for them. Companies for the promotion of every kind of object, possible and impossible, were floated, and when the South Sea Company took action against some of its illegal rivals, the beginning of the end had come. The whole nation had been given up to stock-jobbing, and the £100 shares of the South Sea Company had touched £1000. Then the bubble burst, and so great was the panic that even the Company's stock fell, before the end of September, to £175. The ruin that followed was widespread, and the nation demanded revenge; but as the existing law did not meet the case, it was necessary to pass a retrospective Act before the Directors could be punished. Several of the Ministers were implicated; Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled the House; the elder Craggs committed suicide; Charles Stanhope was acquitted by a majority of three votes. Sunderland found it necessary to leave the Ministry, and he and Lord Stanhope died shortly afterwards. Walpole's position was now assured, and he re-

turned to office as First Lord of the Treasury. Steele took an active part in the debates in Parliament, which extended far into 1721; but while he strongly condemned the action of the South Sea Directors,¹ he was inclined, according to his wont, and following the same course that Defoe took, to be merciful to the Directors as individuals.² Swift, on the other hand, cried out for the punishment of the Directors by death.

As in other cases, Steele's spirit of charity was made the occasion of a charge of inconsistency. William Whiston, a learned divine, remarkable for his sincerity and integrity, but whose impetuous and hypochondriacal temper often led him to make rash and over-severe statements, is in this instance the accuser. In 1710 Whiston had lost his mathematical professorship at Cambridge, procured for him by Sir Isaac Newton, and had been expelled the University on account of heretical views regarding the Trinity which he had felt bound to publish. He came to London to push his case in the law courts, and to earn money to support himself by lecturing on mathematics, and he found friends in Addison and Steele, though neither of them was in sympathy with his doctrinal views. "Mr. Addison," said Whiston, "with his friend Sir Richard Steele, brought me, upon my banishment from Cambridge, to have many astronomical lectures at Mr. Button's Coffee-House, near Covent Garden, to the agreeable entertainment of a great number of persons, and the procuring me and my family some comfortable support under my banishment." Some years later Hoadly, in his Address to Pope Clement XI., printed in Steele's *Account of the State of the Roman Catholick Religion*, referred, in a kindly manner, to Whiston,

¹ On the 15th December 1720 Steele and others made several exceptions to the conduct of the South Sea Directors, and, in particular, to their lending vast sums of money belonging to the Company, without being authorised to do so. On the 12th December Steele is reported to have protested against the city who had brought the nation into its present distress being screened by those of greater figure, for reasons they best knew (T. Broderick to Lord Middleton. December 13; Coxe's *Walpole*, 1798, i. 142, ii. 203).

² On March 29, 1721, Steele spoke against obliging Mr. Knight, late Cashier to the South Sea Company, to be an evidence, whether he would or no; and on June 2, upon a debate as to what allowance should be granted to certain of the Directors out of their estates, he joined Horace Walpole in speaking in favour of Sir Theodore Janssen.

whom he had himself endeavoured to assist. But this allusion, with which Steele was credited, greatly offended Whiston. In his "Memoirs" he wrote: "As to Sir Richard Steele, he has given a character of me, in his Address to the Pope, but 'tis too ludicrous to appear in this place. Sir Richard was indeed eminent for wit; yet was he destitute of true wisdom in the whole conduct of his life. He wrote very well, but lived very ill: He was a Christian in principle, but not in practice. However, not to go too far out of my way in his character, I shall only set down one encounter I had with him at Button's Coffee-House, when he was a Member of Parliament, and had been making a speech in the House of Commons, in the days of George I., to please the Court, but against his own conscience, for the South Sea Directors, then under the great disgrace of the nation, and against which South Sea scheme he had before for some time written weekly papers, till he saw he could not recover his post of Censor of the Playhouse, from which he had been turned out, which used to bring him in some hundreds a year, without making such a speech. I accosted him thus: 'They say, Sir Richard, you have been making a speech in the House of Commons, for the South Sea Directors.' He replied, 'They do say so.' To which I answered, 'How does this agree with your former writing against that scheme?' His rejoinder was this: 'Mr. Whiston, you can walk on foot, and I cannot.' Than which a truer or an acuter answer could not have been made by anybody."¹

It is not necessary to discuss this account at length. I have reprinted it as a specimen of what a man could write who was, there can be no doubt, giving his opinions with perfect honesty, but whose mind was narrow, and who certainly was wanting not only in knowledge of the world, but in Christian charity. How Whiston could fail to see that Steele might with perfect honesty write against the South Sea scheme while the prosperity of the nation was imperilled, and yet speak on behalf of the Directors when they were in disgrace, is almost incomprehensible. No one was more really consistent in politics

¹ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiston. Written by Himself, 1749. pp. 302-304.*

than Steele. After the Directors were in disgrace it could hardly advance Steele's interests to plead in their favour. As for Steele's answer to Whiston, it must be remembered that Whiston was writing, when an old man, nearly thirty years after the conversation took place, and that his version cannot therefore be entirely relied on; and if it is correct, the words were probably spoken half in badinage to put an end to a cross-examination from a man who could never have been made to see the matter in its true light. As regards his private life, Steele was the last to deny how far the actual performance fell short of his ideal; his life, he said, was at best but pardonable. The spirit of self-abasement which he showed is certainly more lovable than the self-satisfaction which there must have been in Whiston to enable him to speak so harshly and dogmatically of other men.¹

How differently those thought of Steele who had had the best opportunities of knowing him may be judged from an interesting and hitherto unnoticed letter prefixed to a sermon published early in 1720² by the Rev. David Scurlock, Lady Steele's cousin. The title was, "Public Virtue the only Preservative of Liberty and Property: Or, Slavery the natural

¹ I may here mention a short pamphlet which was occasioned by the uncertain state of trade consequent upon the South Sea mania, and which is attributed to Steele in the Catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The Catalogue was prepared by the late Mr. Halkett, but this pamphlet is not included in the Dictionary of Anonymous Literature which he commenced, and which was carried on by the late Mr. Laing. The title is, *A Proposal humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament, for Encouraging and Improving Trade in General*, London, J. Roberts, 1721. The Dedication, to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, bears the initials "R. S.," and these initials are the only known ground for attributing the tract to Steele. The writer remarks that credit was much shaken by the recent pursuit of chimerical riches. How, then, could men be brought back to their substantial interest, Traffic? It is impossible for a nation to grow rich without trade. What branches of trade are most beneficial, and how are they to be encouraged? The Proposal was that, besides the Commissioners of Trade, there should be in the City "An Office for the more effectual encouraging and improving trade in general, and for preventing such practices as are prejudicial thereunto." This Office was to inquire into and take steps to remedy the abuses in the several branches of trade. Complaints, and suggestions, were to be invited from the public, the most material being laid before the Commissioners of Trade; and rewards were to be offered for good suggestions.

² It was advertised as "just published" in the *Theatre*, Nos. 22 and 23, March 15 and 19, 1720. The sermon itself bears no date.

Consequence of Avarice and Corruption. A Sermon preached at Wallingford, Berks, at a late election of a Burgess to serve in Parliament.¹ By David Scurlock, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College in Oxford. Dedicated to Sir Richard Steele, Kt." The Dedication to Steele, "of Llangunner, in the County of Carmarthen," was evidently written by a true friend, who spoke with perfect candour when he thought warning was necessary. Among other things, it confirms what we know from various sources, that the Scurlock family looked upon Steele with respect and friendship, a point not without importance when we are considering the question of Steele's relations with his wife.

The business of his sermon, said David Scurlock, was to show that artifice, subtlety, and self-interest destroy what true wisdom and virtue can alone support, the welfare and happiness of society. "And I have no occasion to search abroad for a patron of these sentiments, while I have the honour and happiness of being allied to one, who under every shape of fortune and change of things around him, has preserved one constant and steadfast character in the cause of public virtue and liberty. As my tender years received from you the first impression of those generous principles which led me to this way of thinking, so reason and gratitude demand some return of the effects of them to the fountain from whence they first flowed." He then dwells upon the influence Steele's writings had had upon the virtues of private life. But, as far as Steele's own prosperity was concerned, it would have been well if he had not, when duty called, rushed into danger for his country's sake. "Unbiassed integrity is ever attended with opposition and distress." The learned world, however, would always be grateful; they remembered what Steele had written to the credit of Oxford, "but are more sensibly pleased with the continuance of that good inclination towards them, which you discovered in your late conversation here amongst them; . . . your honest, familiar, and agreeable character will ever find shelter and retreat in these peaceful mansions."² "In the mean-

¹ On the 1st December 1719, Henry Grey, Esq., was elected M.P. for Wallingford, in the place of Edmund Dunch, Esq., deceased.

² From this it would seem that Steele had recently visited Oxford.

time, I hope, Sir, painful experience will reduce you to *think of your family, at least, as belonging to the Nation*,¹ and not to give up yourself, as you have formerly, in resigning your employments and income, for the sake of such friends as take from you what those you used like adversaries offered you. Consider what an appearance you must make to so elegant and generous a gentleman as the Lord Lansdowne, who offered you the theatre in your own way, without solicitation, in the last reign, now it is torn from you, in spite of the strongest instrument by which Power could give it you, in this?" Those he had vindicated as patrons of liberty, to his own loss, now wielded power in as unlimited a way as those whom he then opposed. This is the only intimation we have that Steele was offered an interest in the theatre in Queen Anne's time, and that, too, while the Tories were in office. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, held several posts after the change of Government in 1710, including those of Comptroller of the Household and Treasurer. In 1715 he was imprisoned in the Tower for plotting for the Pretender, and was not released till 1717. In 1722 he withdrew to France, and there remained for ten years. On his return he published an edition of his Works, and he died in 1735. He was a poet and dramatist, and was called "polite" by Pope, who dedicated to him his *Windsor Forest*. It would appear that he also knew Steele. Scurlock proceeds to say that Steele, as a writer, distributed encouragement freely to his partners; now he was, to those who did not know him, only "a loose squanderer in general." The cause which he wished to help was injured by his appearing a beggar and a borrower, when he was a lender and a benefactor, in whatever he might attempt to promote. The Dedication concludes: "Sir, I take my leave by wishing you and your children's children all prosperity; and (though I am in the entail of your estate²) that you and they may be the perpetual possessors of it, is the hearty prayer of, Sir, Your most affectionate Kinsman, and most humble Servant, DAVID SCURLOCK."

¹ In allusion to Steele's pamphlet, *A Nation a Family*.

² Lady Steele's property was secured for her children's benefit; if they died it would seem that it was to go to her cousins, children of her uncle John. Of these cousins, Jonathan, the eldest, died in 1722, and David came next.

XIII.

THE SCOTCH COMMISSION AND THE THEATRE.

1720-2. ÆT. 48-50.

ON the 7th May 1720 the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had before them a Petition from Steele respecting his position as Commissioner for Forfeited Estates, and thinking the principal matter therein contained to be a point of law, they were pleased to refer the same to the Attorney and Solicitor General for their opinion. On the 31st January 1721 their Lordships desired the Law officers to be pleased to hasten their report on the Petition of Sir Richard Steele, one of the Trustees for the sale of Forfeited Estates in Scotland.¹ What report was ultimately given does not appear.

On the 26th May 1720 Steele wrote to Alexander Scurlough, acknowledging the receipt of an account relating to the Welsh property. "I have not time to observe upon this matter carefully, so as to avoid errors; but my care is about the £100 bond to the King. Till that is over, I know not how to rest easy, but shall take a journey down to Wales to take it up rather than let it lie out, so much do I dread being accomptant to the Crown." Next month he was arranging with Anderson for the hire of Professor Scott's house for his use while in Scotland.² This was Anderson's reply:³—

June 21, 1720.

S^R

I have y^e hon^r of y^r lre of y^e 10th, and this day I have acquainted Mr. Will. Scott professor of Greek in the university

¹ Treasury Letter Book, 1719-24, vol. xvii. pp. 76, 146.

² *Analecta Scotica*, i. 17.

³ Maidment MSS.; date altered in pencil from 1721 to 1720. Printed, with the spelling modernised, in *Analecta Scotica*, i. 18.

here of your being his tenant on the same terms [upon] which Coll: Monro enjoyed the house for half a year commencing y^e first of July next. Mr. Scott offers you his humble service and wishes to know when you sett out that your house may be clean by your arrival. I enclose you a poem of Mr. Ramsay's whose performances I presume you are not a stranger to, and ever continue, Sir,
Yours, &c.,

JAMES ANDERSON.

Next month Steele set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 1st August, and remained about three months. Among his memoranda it is mentioned that he put into Mr. Wolfe's hands, for himself and Dawson¹ at table on the road, £6. 6s. On the 3rd August he paid Mr. Scott, his landlord, £10 upon account of rent; on the 4th he paid Simes, coachman, in full, for coming to Edinburgh, £18; on the 12th he agreed for chairmen at £1. 1s. per week—a crown paid down. There is mention of several letters to Mr. Plaxton, a confidential agent, "desiring he would buy my son a trunk for keeping my letters, &c;" asking for an "inventory of my goods at London and Brook Green"—Steele had hired Brook Green House from a Mr. Slane—and on other matters.² There was also a letter to

¹ Steele evidently wished to improve his servant's education, for there is a memorandum, dated September 23: "Confined Dawson to his chamber, and kept him to his writing, &c. Two or three days after he broke that confinement; and I gave him over;" and there is another note dated August 12: "Agreed with Mr. Wright to teach Ned writing and arithmetick, at 5/- a month. Paid first month down."

² On October 4 Steele sent Plaxton the following account, formed upon papers sent from Paterson's:—

STEELE.	CR.		
	£	s.	d.
From Midsummer 1719 to Michaelmas 1720, at £1000			
per annum	1250	0	0
Coming to Scotland, of my own charge	50	0	0
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
	1300	0	0
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
	£	s.	d.
By money to Paterson	111	10	0
By 5 quarters to Tonson	500	0	0
By money to come to Scotland	50	0	0
By forfeiture from absence	500	0	0
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
	1161. 10. 0		
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
	£138. 10. 0		

Cibber, "about Permits" for the Fish Pool, "and my Play." The following note was to Tonson: ¹—

DEAR JACOB

We have sent up, yesterday, our sallary - Bills for the Quarter ending at Midsummer, when that comes into M^r Paterson's hands you will receive 100^l of y^r Bond.

I am much obliged to you for the pains you tooke in my behalfe before I left the Town, and desire a small favour of you now, which is only to speake to one of the under clarks at the Secretary's Office to send me Member of Parliament at Edinburgh the Courant Gazette English and French. I mean the French Gazette, and the English Gazette with the office of Paper [*sic*].

I am, S^r

Y^r Most Obedient Humble Serv^{nt}

RICHARD STEELE.

Pray write to me what occurs to you concerning the Learned and the Moneyed World.

EDINBURGH, Augst 22^d, 1720.

M^r Tonson.

Two pleasant letters to his daughter Elizabeth, "at Mrs. Nazereau's at Chelsea," have also come down to us.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I keep your letters safely tyed together in order to Observe your improvement which I take notice of with great pleasure. Mrs. Marye's Mark is no lesse a satisfaction to me, because it denotes that she is well and Shews her endeavours to converse with Me. But I hope you will now begin to make Her sign the first letters of Her name. Be pleased to write every other letter in English. To make this easy I will be contented that what is written in your mother Toungue one post, may be in French the next.

Be very dutifull and obedient to Mrs. Keck, and beleive Me to be the most Affectionate of Fathers.

RICHARD STEELE.

EDINBURGH

Sept^{br} 17th, 1720.

Remember Me to Molly.

¹ Add. MS. 28275, f. 114.

MY DEAR CHILD

I have yours of the 30th of the last month, and from your diligence and Improvement conceive hopes of your being as excellent a person as Your mother; You have great opportunityes of becoming such a one by observing the maximes and Sentiments of Her Bosome Freind Mrs. Keck, who has condescended to take upon Her the care of you and your Sister, for which You are always to pay Her the same respect as if She were your Mother.

I have Observed that your Sister has for the first time written the *Initiall* or first letters of Her name, tell Her I am highly delighted to See Her Subscription in such Fair letters, and how many fine things those two letters stand for when She writes them. M. S. is Milk and Sugar, Mirth and Safety, Musick and Songs, Meat and Sause, as well as Molly and Spot, and Mary and Steele.

You See I take pleasure in conversing with You by Prattling any thing to divert You; I hope We shall next month have an happy Meeting, when I will entertain You with some thing that may be as good for the Father as the Children, and consequently please us all.

I am, Madam,

Y^r Affectionate Father &

Most Humble Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

EDINBURGH,

Oct^{br} 7th, 1720.

In November there were two actions for debt. There had also been one in the preceding Hilary term, when Robert Henley, gent., sued Steele for £40, for which he had given a bond on the 10th November 1718. Henley, it may be remembered, had obtained a judgment against Steele in October 1718 for £45. 15s.; he now claimed £10 damages on account of the present debt. Steele's attorney, Nathaniel Moore, had no answer to make, and judgment was given for Henley on the 4th February, with 50s. damages.¹ Of the cases tried in Michaelmas term, in the first John Brome was the complainant, and judgment was given in his favour on the 17th November; the amount of the debt is not stated.² In the other action John Tatnall, the complainant, stated that on

¹ Common Pleas Judgment Roll, Hilary 6 Geo. I., 1733.

² Exchequer Pleas Order Book, Mich. 7 Geo. I.

the 13th August 1713, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Steele gave a note to Henry Heasman promising to pay £20 within three months, and that by an endorsement on the note Heasman ordered that the money should be paid to Tatnall. But although asked to pay on the 14th November 1713, and on other occasions, Steele had not repaid the money; and whereas on the 15th November 1713 Steele was indebted to Tatnall in £30, yet he had not repaid it, to the damage of Tatnall of £40. After several adjournments at the request of the defendant, Steele's attorney, William Leech, admitted he had nothing to say in bar of judgment, and after inquiry, the Sheriffs reported on the 15th November that Tatnall had sustained damages to the amount of £28. 8s., and 20s. id. costs. Judgment was accordingly given for these amounts on the 26th November, together with £10. 2s. adjudged by the Court to Tatnall for his expenses. The damages therefore amounted altogether to £39. 10s., the penny being remitted to Steele.¹

The next note was written to a Mr. Brookesby, who wanted to again interest Steele in alchemy.²

Dec. 1, 1720.

SIR,

I thank you for your Intended favour of communicating to me Discoveries in Alchymy, but I have long resolv'd never to concern my Self in Inquiries of that Sort. I am, Sir,

Your Most Humb Ser^{nt},

RICHARD STEELE.

At this time we again hear of the Fish Pool. Gillmore, Steele feared, was taking a Mr. Dale, to whom the Patent seems to have been assigned, too much into his confidence. The original of the following letter is written in cipher.

Dec. 10, 1720.

SIR,

I have great reason of complaint against Mr. Dale, for his conduct in relation to the Fish Pool. The way in which he has

¹ Common Pleas Judgment Roll, Mich. 7 Geo. I., 392.

² Directed, "At his house, the first door on the right hand in the Little Almony, by the Dutch Envoy's near Dean's yard."

acted, and now proceeds, can lead to nothing but ruin of that invention, and dishonour to you and myself, who brought it into the world. I will, with the blessings of God, take the most just and effectual methods to obtain satisfaction to all innocent persons concerned for the affair; beginning with you, and ending with myself. In the mean time I must conjure and charge you at your peril, not to finish the tender, or let him into the secret of the structure thereof, without notice and consent of, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant, RICHARD STEELE.

On the 24th December there was a meeting of the gentlemen concerned in the Fish Pool undertaking at the Crown Tavern, Arundel Street, Strand,¹ at which Steele was present. On the 26th Plaxton wrote to Gillmore, asking him to call upon Steele to discuss the whole matter before the meeting which was to take place at Steele's house on the 3rd January;² and on the 30th December notice was given to the "persons concerned in the undertaking for importing fish alive, that there are ten Vessels called *Fish-Pools* almost finished, and will be ready to put to sea as soon as the machinery can be fixed in them; of which they may be more fully satisfied if they will give themselves the trouble to come to the Yards of Mr. Williamson and Mr. Burchet at Pitcher's Point in Rotherhithe."³

Of the meeting at Steele's house an unfriendly journalist wrote: "We are informed that at a meeting of the contributors to the famous Fish Pool Project, held this week at the Projector's house in York Buildings, Sir R——, after having fully cleared himself from the imputation of any unjust dealing in the affair, told the proprietors most generously that he would prosecute the assignee of the Patent for his exorbitant claim at his own expense; but the proprietors not regarding his qualifications for such a trust, and slighting the favour he did them in offering to make their case his own, chose rather to place their confidence in five or six of their own number, than to accept

¹ *Daily Post*, December 23, 1720.

² Add. MSS. 5145.

³ *Daily Post*, December 30, 1720. "Ten ships of the sort called Sir Richard Steel's Fish-Pools, are on the stocks in several Docks along the River, so nigh finished that, 'tis said, they will be launched the next spring tide" (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, December 24, 1720).

of his overture designed purely for their good.”¹ In another account of this meeting at Steele’s house in Villiers Street, York Buildings, it is stated that the proprietors came to several resolutions, and chose a committee of seven to signify them to Mr. Dale, and to report his answers on the 7th January. The proprietors were therefore requested to meet at the same place that day at four o’clock to hear the report, and to take such further measures as might be for their advantage.² At this meeting Mr. Dale did not make a satisfactory concession to the proprietors, who were therefore desired to meet again on the 20th at the Crown Tavern, Arundel Street, to consider further of their interest in the affair.³ The second number of a periodical called *The Projector*, published in February 1720[-1], appears to have contained an attack on Steele and the Fish Pool, but no copy of that number seems to have survived; the loss, however, is probably not great.⁴

On April 3 two Fish Pool vessels were launched at Rotherhithe, one being named the *Gillmore* and the other the *Anna Margaretta*; and a few days later two more vessels of the same sort, the *Maria* and the *Elizabeth*—named, no doubt, after Steele’s daughters—were launched.⁵ In the same month we find the following entry among Steele’s papers: “April 29, 1721. I

¹ *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, January 7, 1721. In a pamphlet, *The Censor Censured*, &c., about his *Conscious Lovers*, Steele is said to have begun a speech at a general meeting of the proprietors of the Fish Pool with the words, “Now, I am a Knight, that’s true; and everybody knows I’m a Knight, and I can’t help it.”

² *Daily Post*, January 7, 1721. Steele kept the house in Villiers Street until 1724. In 1725 he is marked “Gone” in the Rate Books of St. Martin’s-in-the Fields.

³ *Daily Post*, January 18, 1721.

⁴ The only known set of the *Projectors* is in the Hope Collection in the Bodleian Library. It comprises No. I., February 6, 1720, and Nos. III. to VIII., February 13 to March 3; No. II. is unfortunately missing. This periodical was announced in a letter in *Mist’s Weekly Journal* for January 14, 1721, where we are told that No. I. would deal with the South Sea scheme, and “No. II. shall lash the *Fish-Pool*, and therein I intend to introduce Sir Richard *Patentec*, and William *Assignee*, Esq.; discoursing on the secret pleasure and inward satisfaction that attend those who square all their actions according to the strict rules of honour, honesty, and a conscience void of offence, though both follow the example of their great Master Oliver, and make religion only a more commodious cloak for their knavery.”

⁵ *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, April 8 and 15, 1721.

purchased this day fifteen assignments in the Fish Pool undertaking with a promissory note to deliver to Mr. Robert Wilks (who sold them to me) a Bond of £500 upon demand The said bond to be payable within Two Years after this date.”¹ On the 2nd January following a notice was sent out from the Fish Pool Office, Royal Exchange, by the Secretary, J. Parr, to the effect that the managers of the undertaking having let their vessels for a certain part of the profits, with a view to carrying on the undertaking to the best advantage, the proprietors were called upon to pay in £2 per share, in order to carry on the enterprise, on or before the 10th instant.² A few days later one of the papers remarked: “We hear that the Fishpool bubble is quite run aground. The Barking fishermen can bring all sort of fish alive to the market as cheap and with more profit to themselves than the undertakers can; so that the Bubble Stock seems at present to ebb mighty low.”³ A few months later the failure of the scheme seems to have been at last fully recognised, but it appears from the following letter to Gillmore that even then there was some further project under consideration.⁴

May 24, 1722.

SIR,

I have yours of to-day, consisting of a declaration that you shall be forced to do what you otherwise would not, by reason of my paying you fifteen pounds instead of thirty pounds; and that thirty pounds, you say, will still leave me in your debt eighty pounds by balance ending in April. I should seem insensible, and not to know the nature of my own actions, if I should not on this occasion acquaint you that I am become your creditor, from a great opinion of your talents, and making an expence in support of them at all hazards; and that all the adversity which befell the Fish Pool happened from your having been persuaded to throw yourself into

¹ “June 6, 1721. I purpose to carry the above-mentioned Bond to Mr. Wilks this morning.”

² *Daily Courant*, January 3, 1722.

³ Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal*, January 6, 1722.

⁴ A draft or copy of this letter, not in Steele's writing, is in the British Museum. In November Steele noted, “The Fish Pool went into Brunsdens's dock, Nov. 1, 1722. R. S.” In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, ii. 876, the death is noticed, on July 1, 1732, of “Nathaniel Shepherd, Esq., of Abbots Langley, one of the projectors of Sir R. Steele's Fishpool.”

the hands of Mr. Dale, by the minister of your parish, who introduced you to me.

If you calmly consider, you will very well know that you have never had any disappointments from me, but what have been abatements of what I was inclined to do for you, out of free-will and respect to you, with very hazardous hopes of gain to myself; and those abatements occasioned by unforeseen distress in my health and fortune, on which occasions you have always sent me a declaration of your being ready to join with any body else in mortification of me.

I have said all this as it is extorted from me by your reproaches; but I have at the same time, in spite of all particularity towards me, a great sense of your merit, and an ambition of producing it for the good of the world as well as ourselves. If your labours come to nothing, I am, by a condition imposed on me by myself, a considerable loser; and if they turn to advantage, I am sure I have proportionate pretence to gain.

I thank God, I am from great torment restored to present ease; and hope the next dressing will give authority to my physician to allow me the use of my legs: and nothing shall be wanting, within the rules of honour, justice, and discretion, to promote the present Project.

I am, Sir, &c.

RICHARD STEELE.

To return to 1721. During the early part of the year Steele seems to have been seriously out of health. On the 16th February Anderson wrote from Edinburgh: ¹ "The agony your friends were under by the melancholy account of your indisposition and unwillingness to load you with letters made us use M^r Montgomerie for all; and the news of your recovery was as acceptable; but seeing your handwriting gives us an unspeakable joy. Such was the great concern for our friend that we heartily wished to have known him less if he was to take his farewell. May he long live for the good of his prince and country and the benefit of his friends, which I have fresh proof of by the honour of yours of the 30th last. Such superlative friendship" induced Anderson to send Steele a general account of his collection of books, with a memorial concerning it. He apologised for having made so large a collection, he

¹ *Analecta Scotica*, i. 18.

being a private man, and having a numerous family; but he thought the knowledge of the history of our country was very important, and that it was a pity such a collection should be scattered. Steele might perhaps mention his name. He sent "heartly wishes for a speedy and full recovery, hoping a summer expedition will confirm your health." This was Steele's answer:¹—

DEAR SIR

I have your letters concerning the library; but am not yet determined whether I shall at first name your name or not.

My health suspends my prosecuting anything just at this time with vigour, for I find inattention and being much in the air are the best expedients for my entire recovery. When it shall please God that I am confirmed in health, I shall be able to follow things in a series; whereas now I can only act by starts.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend
and obedient humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

March 4th, 1721.

Two years later Steele seems to have made an unsuccessful attempt to get the Government to purchase Anderson's library, for on the 12th February 1722-3 Patrick Anderson wrote to his father, "As to your particular matter, we are come to the resolution of petitioning the house of Commons, and Sir Richard Steele is to present it, and to be seconded by Mr. Bailie, Mr. Fraser, and a good many English, who I find are your only good friends."²

Early in 1721 Welsted published *A Prologue to the Town*, "as it was spoken at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields. Written by Mr. Welsted. With an Epilogue on the same occasion, by Sir Richard Steele."³ Leonard Welsted was a young man, the son of a clergyman, for whom the Earl of Clare had found a place under one of the Secretaries of State.

¹ *Analecta Scotica*, i. 20.

² *Notes and Queries*, 2nd S., v. 472; 3rd S., iii. 507.

³ London, 1721, folio. Price 4d.

In 1714 he had, as we have seen,¹ addressed two poems to Steele, and in 1717 came *The Genius, on occasion of the Duke of Marlborough's Apoplexy*. Hughes sent this piece to Earl Cowper, saying that he had heard the author mentioned by Steele as a promising genius, and that Steele patronised and encouraged him, and used to recommend him among his acquaintance. Welsted was afterwards put into the *Dunciad* for ridiculing the *Three Hours after Marriage*. The *Prologue to the Town* was occasioned by the revival of *Measure for Measure* after the collapse of the South Sea scheme. It was handed in to Rich, manager of the new Theatre, four days before the 23rd January, when it ought to have been repeated; but for some reason it was not used. "I added to it," says Welsted in the Preface, "at his own desire, an Epilogue written by Sir Richard Steele, and intended to have been spoken on the same occasion." In the *Spectator* Steele had attacked Etherege's plays, and the want of a "finishing stroke . . . gave birth to the Epilogue. . . . Dorimant is the great giant with whom he is at war; and every lady, who has or may suffer by broken vows, and the perjury of false men, is the object of his care." The *Epilogue* began by remarking how out of place, considering the prevailing laxity of morals, seemed *Measure for Measure*, "this chaste old-fashioned scene." Dorimant was triumphant, Loveit unpitied. Surely understanding should not always yield to appetite. There would be a sad ending if people would not be men.

In a letter to his daughter Elizabeth, dated March 29; Steele apologised for not having visited her, as he designed, with her brother; "but he was so dirty that I was ashamed to bring him to your school." Eugene Steele, Nichols tells us, was some years under the care of Mr. Solomon Lowe, of Blithe House, Hammersmith, who gave him the character of a sprightly lad, of fine parts. Eugene was subsequently a scholar at the Charterhouse. Not long after, he was taken

¹ Page 73. In his *Epistle to Mr. Steele*, Welsted wrote: "For this"—the accession of King George and the happiness that was to follow—

"For this the patriot stemmed prevailing rage;
And oft, O Varus, thy applauded page
With just resentments thy wronged country fired."

home to his father's house in York Buildings, and was indulged, as his genius lay that way, in acting plays in the "Censorium." There his health is said to have been injured by frequent colds. He suffered much from the stone, and was cut by the famous Cheselden. We have one of his letters, forwarding to his sisters a pound of tea apiece. "One is bohea, the other is green, so that you may please yourselves; but I trust to your generosity what you will bestow on a poor common school-boy; and, as you are ladies of good learning, and of great understanding and ingenuity, I can but humble myself in the highest degree to serve you." On the 5th April Steele wrote twice to his eldest daughter.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

I thank you for Your kindnesse which makes You attempt to draw Your Father's Picture, but I hope, and am confident you are still better employed in imitating the life of Your Excellent Mother. Her Freind¹ is the best example and Help you can have in pursuing that aimable and Worthy Patern. I am this morning much better and purpose, God Willing, to go and bring Home Your Brother, But I shall not Adventure to introduce Him to such Fine Ladies as His Sisters are, till He has Gott His New Cloaths.

I am, My Dear Child,

Most Affectionately Yours

RICHARD STEELE.

My thanks and service to M. S.

Ap. 5th 1721.

M^{rs} Elizabeth Steele.

MY DEAR CHILD

I have received Your letter by the penny post and read it with great pleasure and Comfort, tho I was then a little discomposed.

I have, to-day, had a Tooth Drawn and am disorder'd also with a Cold, but as soon as I go out I will not fail to visit Mrs. Keck, and my Dear little ones. Service to Misse Molly but tell Her I am sorry she has forgot the charms I find in M. S.

Y^r Affectionate Father

RICHARD STEELE.

Ap. 5th 1721.

M^{rs} Elizabeth Steele.

¹ Mrs. Keck.

In another letter he said he noticed she was apt to add flourishes to her writing. "To this you must by no means accustom yourself; but remember that plainness and simplicity are the chief beauties in all works and performances whatsoever."

The unsatisfactory state of his health made Steele anxious about his family, and he determined to make another effort to recover his position at the Theatre. The following is a fragment of his Diary:—

Ap 4th, 1721.—I have lately had a fitt of Sicknesse which has awakened in Me, among other things, a Sense of the little Care I have taken of my Own family, and as it is Naturall for Men to be more affected with the Actions and Sufferings and observations upon the rest of the World sett down by their predecessors than by what they receive from other men I have taken a resolution to write down in this book as in Times of leisure I may have opportunity things past or things that may occur hereafter for the perusal and consideration of my Son Eugene Steele And His Sisters Elizabeth Steele and Mary Steele My Beloved Children.

Easter Sunday, April 9th, 1721.—After the repeated perusal of Dr. Tillotson's Seventh Sermon, in y^e Third Volume of the Small Edition of His Admirable and Comfortable Writings, and after having Done Certain Acts of Benevolence and Charity to some Needy Persons of Merit I went this Day to the Holy Sacrament. In Addition to the Proper Prayers of the Church I framed for my private Use on this occasion the following prayer:

O Almighty Lord God, I prostrate my Self before thy Divine Majesty in hopes of Mercy for all my former transgressions through the merits of Thy Son Jesus Christ.

Thou art my Maker and knowest my infirmities appetites and passions and the miserable Habit of mind which I have contracted through a Guilty indulgence of them. Pardon Me Oh Lord, in that I permitted them to grow upon Me And Allow Me moments for retrospect and repentance, or afford me thy Mercy, if thou shalt please to take Me away in the Course of a Faithfull endeavour. I Bow down to Thee with a Firm resolution to resist all perverse and Sensuall inclinations for the future. I begg thy Grace and assistance for the sake of Our Lord Jesus who has instituted this means of Salvation to which I approach with Faith. Lord, O Lord, receive a Broken and contrite Heart. Amen.

April 9th, 1721.—I have this morning resolved to pursue very

Warmly my being restored to my government of the Theatre Royall, which is my right under the Title of the Governour of the Royall Company of Comedians & from which I have been violently dispossessed by the Duke of Newcastle Lord Chamberlain of his Majestyes Household upon a frivolous pretence of jurisdiction in His Office which He has been persuaded to assert against the Force of the King's Patent to Me. This Violation of Property I take to have been instigated by the Late Secretaryes Stanhope and Craggs for my Opposition to the Peerage Bill by Speeches in the House and Printed Pamphlets.

The Duke of Newcastle brought Me into this present Parliament for the Town of Burrough Bridge upon which consideration I attempt all manner of Fair methods to bring His Grace to reason without a Publick Triall in a Court of Justice, and therefore after applying to my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Walpole for their Good Offices I writ the following letter to his Grace's Brother Mr. Henry Pelham lately appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury.

S^r, I presume to address my Self to you, for your favour and Patronage with your Brother the Duke of Newcastle. The Matter is too publick, and necessarily made so even in print by a command to Me from His Grace to apply to Him neither by Freinds Speech, or letter and consequently leaving Me no other Way to represent my Condition. It is my Misfortune to do exactly as the Queestion lyes before Me in a certain House where I am Glad to See You are growing Eminent.

By this means Good Will towards Me is tossed from one interest into another as the point which I vote for is respectively acceptable or Ungratefull. At present I am wholly Freindlesse for no one is obliged to one (who will do nothing but what he thinks just) because his Suffrage never attends persons or Partyes. However, S^r, your Quality and time of Life make Me hope you have the disinterested magnanimity to espouse an unhappy man to the Dissuasion even of y^r Brother from prolonging a mortification, which unhappy incidents (without any particular provocation from Me, or personall resentment in His Grace) brought upon Me to the suffering for a long Series of time all the evils and Sorrows that this life can afford.

I am, S^r, y^r Most Obedient
& Most Humble Serv^{nt},

RICHARD STEELE.

Ap 5th, 1721.

To the R^t Hon^{ble} Henry Pelham, Esq.
one of the Lords of the Treasury, &c.

Steele's endeavours were at last successful; Walpole was now all-powerful, and the Duke of Newcastle, probably much against his own will, issued a Warrant on the 2d May ordering the managers of the Theatre to account to Steele for his share of the profits, past and future.¹ Cibber, though he professed to give a full history of the Theatre, says not a word about the whole business between Steele and the Lord Chamberlain.²

Whereas Application has been made to me in behalf of S^r Rich^d Steele, on Occasion of the Regulation under which his Ma^{t^s} Company of Comedians has been lately placed Exclusive of the said S^r Rich^d Steele and his pretentions, I do hereby Order and Direct You to Account with the said S^r Rich^d Steele for all past and future Share arising from the Profits of the Theatre as he would have been Entitled to by any Agreement between You and him, if the said Regulation had never been made, and to Pay him hereafter from time to time his said Share till further Orders from me, or Determination of that point be made by due course of Law. ffor w^{ch} this shall be your Sufficient Warrant. Given und^r my hand this 2^d May 1721.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

To M^r Rob^t Wilks, M^r Colley Cibber &
M^r Barton Booth, Managers of his Ma^{t^s}
Company of Comedians in Drury Lane.

Among the first to congratulate Steele upon the restoration of his rights was James Anderson, whose son Steele had befriended.³

¹ Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Book No. 25, p. 415. "We hear Sir Richard Steele is restored to his place of Comptroller of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane" (Applebee's *Weekly Journal*, May 6, 1721). In Salmon's *Chronological Historian* the restoration is entered under the date May 18; and, accordingly, Mr. P. Fitzgerald, in his *New History of the English Stage*, says that on May 2 the *Daily Post* mentioned a rumour that Sir Richard Steele was restored to his place of comptroller of Drury Lane, and that on May 18 he was actually reinstated. If the *Daily Post* gave this news on May 2—the British Museum copy is unfortunately mutilated, but the quotation is probably correct, for it was first given by Genest—the news was premature only to the extent at the utmost of a few hours.

² "Did he think his own conduct wrong," says Genest (iii. 20), "or was he afraid to speak out?" Genest suggests that possibly the Duke of Newcastle was instrumental in getting Cibber appointed poet laureate.

³ *Analecta Scotica*, pp. 20, 21.

S^r RICH^d STEELE

SIR,

I heartily congratulate you in being justly restored to the directorship of the theatre, which rejoiced all your friends here. You were kind to yourself and your well-wishers in taking care of yourself, by some respite from business and taking air. Hoping you will oblige us all and confirme your health by some fresh breezes in this climate. Next week I goe to a country hovel, where I flatter myself to have the honour of having you under my rooffe. I have a fresh proof of your civility in your goodness to my son, whom I entered this winter to the navigation school, but in an unthinking humour he went to Holland. He is an honest lad and plies his business very close when abroad; but when he has money or at home is not so provident. But I hope the voyage he intends for the Indies will give him some more experience. He writes me he goes with Cap^t Houghton, and that you have been so kind as to recommend him; for which I return you my most hearty thanks. I have taken the liberty to write to my worthy friends, your brethren Sir Henry and Collonell Monro, who, my son writes me, are the Captain's acquaintances, and I hope he will find the boy very tractable; begging your pardon for this trouble, I am, &c.

JAMES ANDERSON.

Anderson's son wrote to Steele from The Downs, on his way out to the East Indies: "I had a letter from Mr. Moure with the money for which I must return you my most heartie thanks. . . . I am used with the utmost civilitie by all aboard, which is altogether owing to you and Sir Henry Houghton, Hon^{ble} Sir. . . . You will please write my father. I have not now time."

Three days later Steele wrote to Anderson—

DEAR SIR,

I believed it would be pleasure to you to hear of your son's satisfaction in his own words; and therefore have enclosed his letter, though he takes too much notice of my little endeavour to assist him.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Serv^t

RICHARD STEELE.

June 3^d, 1721.

On the 22nd May there was a Treasury Order for the payment to the six Commissioners of £1500, *i.e.*, £250 each, "which (with the sums already received either from the Exchequer in Scotland, or out of the Exchequer here) are in full of their respective allow^{ces} of £1000 per ann. each, to and for the Qua^r ended at Lady-day, 1721."¹

In the following letter² we have, strange to say, Steele's sole reference to his sister Katherine. Nichols, probably repeating an oral tradition, says that the lady was insane some time before she died; but we have seen that, according to Mrs. Manley, her mind was affected as early as 1706. It is not known to whom this letter was addressed, but it seems not improbable that it was to Mr. Aynston, who had married Steele's natural daughter, and lived at Hereford. The wife of Steele's correspondent had evidently been visiting in London, and was now returning to her home.

July 15, 1721.

DEAR PLAIN MAN,

When your wife comes to you, I propose, God willing, to send with her my poor sister; but am unwilling to do that till you have signified to me your willingness to receive her at the rate I design; which is, thirty pounds a year for my sister Mrs. Katherine Steele, and ten pounds a year for Mrs. Sarah Griffith, her servant and companion.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

R. S.

In August there were two letters to Alexander Scurlock. In the first "Cousin Sandy" was reproached for making a lame excuse for not sending a certain sum of money which Steele said was already due. In the other letter Steele wrote he had been applied to by eminent persons, who desired to work the mine near Llangunnor; but as he did not wish to bring any risk upon himself or his successors, he wanted to be certain whether the persons who had a lease of it, *viz.*, Caresbrook, Batchelor, and Harry Owen (Lady Steele's early suitor), were not ejected regularly by formal course of law; if not, he must advise, whether, for default of working or other failure,

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1856, pp. 266-7.

² Draft, not in Steele's writing, in Add. MSS. 5145.

their pretensions were not extinct. On Sunday, September 17, he wrote in his diary:—

I am going this morning to the L^d Bp of Bangor¹ now nominated Bp of Hereford with a design to Leave with His Lordship my last Will Whereby He is my executor and Guardian to my Son; and (humbly resigning my Self to Providence whether I shall live to do any thing I design) I purpose to Leave all my Papers in as good order as I can for His perusal before I go to Scotland.

Owing to his son's death Steele was afterwards obliged to make another will. He must have left for Scotland very soon after this visit to Hoadly. The Commissioners arranged to hold a session at Edinburgh on the 5th October,² and Steele was probably there in time for the opening meeting. On the 12th October he was making arrangements for some pleasant expedition in which Anderson's family was to take part.³

DEAR SIR,

Just before I received yours I sent a written message to Mr. Montgomery advising that I designed that the Coach should go to your House to take in your Galaxy and afterwards call for This Star, except he should send me new directions. This I think consistent with your letter, and I will as early as I can for a message from a great Lady (who will be here in the morning) come to you.

I am, with great Truth
Y^r Oblig'd Humb^le Ser^{nt}

RICHARD STEELE.

Oct^{br} 12, 1721.

M^r Anderson.

The next letter refers to Hoadly's Sermons "On the Terms of Acceptance with God," and is transcribed from a copy written with a pencil by Anderson.

SIR,

I thank you very kindly for the loan of this excellent book which I have read with greater improvement in the Christian Religion than ever I received from any other work. The man might

¹ Dr. Benjamin Hoadly.

² *Mist's Weekly Journal*, September 30, 1721.

³ *Analecta Scotica*, i. 22.

want taste, genius, good disposition, or other peculiar talents who should remain insensible of the force of other writings; but he would want also common-sense who should remain unconverted by this of Mr. Hoadly. In a word the praise of this author is, that he has made a sinner and a blockhead convertible terms.

RICHARD STEELE.

EDINB: Saturday
night Oct^{br} 21, 1721.

In another letter, dated 26th October, Steele asked Anderson's good offices for Mr. White, a schoolfellow of his, who had come to Scotland about the Glass affair, and wanted certain grievances redressed. In another month's time Steele was back in London, whence he wrote asking Anderson to convey a present to a poor woman named Gow.

S^r

You owe me the answer of a letter concerning y^r library; but this comes to you only to convey the enclosed small bill to Margaret Gow, who in a letter to me says you condescend to be her friend: She says a good deal to me concerning a petition in which I have not at present power to help her. But this trifle in her housewifely hands will make chearful her numerous family at Collington. I need not make an apology to a man of y^r kind heart for troubling you wth the conveyance of it to her.

I am, S^r,

Y^r most obedient & most hum^{ble} Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

YORK BUILDINGS
Nov. 27, 1721.
James Anderson Esq.

We must now turn to the history of the Theatre. On the 19th September Articles Quadripartite of Agreement were signed by Steele (of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields), Wilks, Cibber, and Booth (all of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden), by which it was agreed (1.) that the letters patent, clothes, scenes, &c., should be divided into four equal parts, one of which should be enjoyed by Steele, and the others by Wilkes, Cibber, and Booth respectively, and all clear gains should be equally divided, and if there were losses they should similarly be equally divided. (2.) Steele's executors, administrators, and assignees should for three years after Steele's death receive for

their own use one fourth part of the profits; and upon Steele's death the remaining three fourth parts should be divided into four equal parts, and the survivors should pay to Steele's executors £1200, by such proportionable payments as one fourth part of the said three fourth parts would satisfy, the said £1200 being in full for the share of Steele in the letters patent, clothes, scenes, &c. On receipt of the whole £1200 the executors should give to the surviving parties a full release and discharge of and for all claims whatever. (3.) None of the parties should mortgage, sell, or otherwise part with his share without obtaining the written consent of the other parties to these Articles.¹

In some of the subsequent proceedings these Articles are referred to as having been entered into on the 4th September. A little while before Steele had given the other managers £1200,—£400 to each. They said this payment was in consideration of a fourth part of the scenes, clothes, &c., which belonged to them; Steele said that his brother managers urged that they had lost much in connection with the South Sea scheme, and that he had not borne his share of the cost of the scenes, &c., whereupon, out of great friendship and good-will, he forgave them £1200 which he believed was due to him.

A second set of Articles Quadripartite were entered into on the 19th September, by which, after reciting the other Articles of Agreement bearing the same date, it was agreed, to prevent all disputes, controversies, or troubles that might arise between the parties, that if an Order or Orders should be made by the King, Lord Chamberlain, or any person in the name of or by virtue of the King's authority, commanding (like the Order some time past made by the Lord Chamberlain, but now retracted) Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, or any of them, not to pay to or permit Steele, his executors, &c., to have or receive his fourth part of the profits, and directing Steele's fourth part to be paid to any person or persons other than Steele, then and in such case Steele's fourth part should, during the continuance of such Order or Orders, cease to be paid to him or his executors, &c., and Steele should be debarred from claiming such fourth part during the continuance of the Order or Orders, anything in

¹ Chancery Proceedings, *Steele v. Wilks, &c.* (Sewell, 1714-58, No. 300),—Answers of Wilks, &c., 13th October 1725.

the Articles mentioned above to the contrary notwithstanding. And if it was ordered that any part or parts of Steele's share should be paid to any person or persons other than him, then such part or parts should during the continuance of such Order cease to be paid to Steele, who was debarred from claiming such part or parts. Wilks, Cibber, and Booth covenanted that in the event of a part only of Steele's share being ordered to be paid to others, they would truly pay to Steele, his executors, &c., the remainder of his share; and if by any such Order for prohibiting Steele from receiving his fourth part, or within twelve months after any such Order, Steele's fourth part should not be ordered to be paid to any other person or persons, then Wilks, Cibber and Booth would within one month next after any such twelve months pay to Steele, his executors, &c., whatever his fourth part of the profits should for any such twelve months (and in proportion for any lesser term) amount to. Steele promised not to claim his fourth part until the end of the said month. All the parties agreed that from time to time immediately after the retracting or ceasing of any such Order as aforesaid Steele's fourth part should be paid to him, his executors, &c., until contradicted by any further Order or Orders; in which case Steele should during the continuance of such further Order or Orders observe and perform all the Agreements above mentioned. Lastly, it was declared that nothing in these Articles should impeach or defeat Steele's title in and to one fourth part of the clothes, scenes, and utensils mentioned in the preceding Articles of Agreement. This document was duly signed and sealed by Steele, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, in the presence of two witnesses.¹

In spite of these Agreements things did not work so smoothly as might have been desired, but the exact nature of the differences which caused Steele to write the following letters to Wilks, Cibber, and Booth is rather obscure:²—

SIR,

Dec. 7, 1721.

I have great acknowledgments to make to you for putting me in the head at first of being concerned at the Playhouse, and I have

¹ Egerton Charters, 362 (British Museum).

² A copy of these letters, not in Steele's writing, is in the British Museum; Add. MSS. 5145C.

ever endeavoured to shew you very particular instances of my esteem and affection during the time we have been together.

I am sorry that the gift of fourteen hundred pounds, for what was mine before, could not prevail so much as to let what I had stand as a deposit, for a contingent, in case an impudent cheat is not determined to be such in Wilbraham,¹ who detains my writings contrary to the order of Minshull, to which he is obliged under his hand to deliver them.

But the business of this Letter is in particular to speak to you, not to persist in so unreasonable a thing as the denial of payment of the sum which remains above what there is any claim or pretence against my receiving.

It is hardly in your power to make me other than, Sir,

Your most affectionate friend

and most humble servant,

M^r Wilks.

RICHARD STEELE.

SIR,

YORK-BUILDINGS, Dec. 7, 1721.

When you came to me with the modest request of desiring I would re-purchase my share in scenes and the stock; I did not doubt but you had sentiments of great kindness towards me in general; and that all the Chapter, as I have taken the liberty to call us in conjunction, had as much terror of doing as receiving an hardship. But, if it could have entered into my thoughts, that it was possible men would fail of placing the same value (as a security against a contingent demand) which I gave for it, your answer had not been at all like what it was.

You have been the chief engine in ensnaring me into a concession which I should have been ashamed to own, before you had the resolution to deny so equitable a demand as I made to you. But, as it now is, besides the folly of giving to men richer than myself, I have done it to those that have no regard for me, but as a tool and a screen against others, who want to treat you ill, and forbear only because of my relation to you; which shall not be very long, for it is in my power to get rid of my enemies much more easily than I can have common justice of my friends. This is evident in the monstrous hardness of denying the Governor of your House, as you shall find I am, the superfluity of his income, which is liable to no demand or pretence but that of, Sir,

Your most humble servant

M^r Cibber.

RICHARD STEELE.

¹ See pp. 95-104.

Dec. 7, 1721.

SIR,

It has not happened to me to be so conversant with you as I have been with Mr. Wilks and Mr. Cibber, and therefore could not expect that concern and tenderness for me as I hoped from them. But, as you are affected by my late concession of a large sum of money greatly to your advantage, I hoped the justice of letting that value secure me against pretences to it elsewhere. But, since you have not thought that reasonable, and have taken counsel whether a partner who has paid the mortgage off of his part of the effects, and given the partners in pure benevolence a thousand pounds as a title to their taking his share of the estate, security against the mortgage-deeds unjustly detained from him (sic)—I say, since this is the disposition you are in towards me, I expect you, for your own sakes as well as mine, not to detain the fifth of the fourth heretofore demanded, and to which there is no claim.¹

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

M^r Booth.

RICHARD STEELE.

Tickell's edition of Addison's Works, in four quarto volumes, appeared on the 3rd October,² and some days earlier it was remarked in the papers that among the Works there were several ill-natured political pieces, which had been ascribed to Steele.³ But Tickell did not include in his edition the *Drummer*, which Steele had printed in 1716, and accordingly Steele published on the 29th December 1721,⁴ but with the

¹ *An Act of the Neat profits of the Theatre in the Year 1721* (Add. MSS. 5145C).

	Three fourths.			The 4 th Part.			The Fourth of the Fifth.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
September 23 . . .	94	10	0	31	10	0	6	6	0
October 7 . . .	84	0	0	28	0	0	5	12	0
" 21 . . .	108	15	0	36	5	0	7	5	0
" 28 . . .	81	0	0	27	0	0	5	8	0
November 4 . . .	114	0	0	38	0	0	7	12	0
" 11 . . .	99	0	0	33	0	0	6	12	0
" 18 . . .	117	0	0	39	0	0	7	16	0
" 25 . . .	150	0	0	50	0	0	10	0	0
December 2 . . .	162	0	0	54	0	0	10	16	0

² *Daily Courant*, October 3; *Post-Boy*, September 30 to October 3.

³ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, September 30, 1721; Hearne's *Diary* (Bodleian), vol. xcii. p. 94.

⁴ *Daily Courant*. "N.B. This Comedy is printed upon the same paper and letter, large and small, with Mr. Addison's Works."

date 1722 on the title-page, a second edition of that comedy, to which he prefixed a long and interesting letter to Congreve, an old friend of Addison's. In that letter or dedication, which has already been often referred to, Steele said that on his return from Scotland he called at Tonson's shop, and thanked him for sending the volumes of his dear and honoured friend Mr. Addison, but took occasion to remark that he had not seen the work before it came out. Tonson retorted that Steele had obtained from him a high price—fifty guineas—for the *Drummer*, for which he produced the receipt, and added that as Tickell had not thought fit to make that play a part of Addison's Works, he would sell the copy to any bookseller that would give most for it. Under these circumstances Steele felt it incumbent upon him to reprint the comedy, and at the same time to vindicate himself against certain insinuations thrown out by Tickell that he had assumed to himself part of the merit of his friend. Tickell said that Steele's acknowledgment of the assistance he had received from Addison in the *Tatler* was delivered only in general terms, and that Addison, "who was content with the praise arising from his own works, and too delicate to take any part of that which belonged to others,"¹ afterwards thought fit to distinguish his writings in the *Spectator* and *Guardian* by marks which would remove all possibility of mistake. In compliance with Addison's wish, delivered to him by Tickell, Steele had been pleased to mark with his own hand the *Tatlers* included in Addison's Works.

Steele, of course, found no difficulty in showing that he had acknowledged his obligations to his friend in no niggardly manner; yet whatever he owed to Addison, the public owed Addison to him. "What I never did declare was Mr. Addison's I had his direct injunctions to hide, against the natural warmth and passion of my own temper towards my friends. Many of the writings now published as his I have been very patiently traduced and calumniated for, as

¹ "Steele, with far greater likelihood, insinuates, that he (Addison) could not without discontent impart to others any of his own. I have heard that his avidity did not satisfy itself with the air of renown, but that with great eagerness he laid hold on his proportion of the profits" (Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*,—"Addison").

they were pleasantries and oblique strokes upon certain the wittiest men of the age; who will now restore me to their good will, in proportion to the abatement of wit which they thought I employed against them." Steele thought the marking of the *Spectators* too great a sensibility on the part of his friend; but as it was done, he thought it better that it should be supposed that the papers were marked by him than by the author himself. Tickell had now rashly exposed the real state of the case. Steele was much more proud of Addison's long-continued friendship than he would have been of the fame of being thought the author of any of Addison's writings. Tickell, for whom Addison had done so much, spoke of his patron in a cold, unaffectionate, and barren manner. As regards the *Drummer*, those who now read it, with the knowledge that "it was written by Mr. Addison, or under his direction," would probably see its excellences. "Here is that smiling mirth, that delicate satire and genteel raillery, which appeared in Mr. Addison when he was free among intimates: I say, when he was free from his remarkable bashfulness." Addison composed and dictated rapidly when he had formed his plan; Steele had often been his amanuensis, but did not call himself the writer of what he took down; and "no one but Mr. Addison was in any other way the writer of the *Drummer*."

The correspondence for the early months of 1722 is very meagre. On the 30th January Steele wrote to Henry Davenant, who was impatient at a play of his not being accepted without delay.¹ Steele said he was utterly passive in the matter, and as far as his own work was concerned was willing to give way to Davenant, or Philips, or any one else who laboured for the stage. Welsted, with whom Steele had lived in greater familiarity, and who had three Acts in the House even before Steele went to Scotland, was still more offended because his work did not appear, but Steele was helpless, being himself only on a doubtful footing at the theatre. On the 11th February he wrote a note to his two girls: "Your brother is just now at ease, after great torment of the gravel or stone." Soon afterwards he went to Wendover, for which

¹ Letters sold at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms, 27th July 1887.

place he was elected Member of Parliament on the 21st March.¹

Two letters addressed from Wendover to the Earl of Sunderland—who died in the following month—are among the Blenheim papers. In the first, dated March 10, Steele wrote: “I have received your commands, but fear I cannot leave this place till after the Election. As soon as I come to town I will wait upon you and am with the most warm and inviolable Zeal for your interests,” &c. The second letter runs as follows:—

MY MOST HONOUR'D LORD

On Wednesday I carryed the Election here by a majority of Seventyone Voices above S^r Roger Hill, and hope I am in a method of continuing Member for this place on any Future occasion.²

It is with the Greatest pain to me that I earnestly entreat your Lordship to send me the like Su^m you did before, till I can adjust some affairs of my Own. I Flatter myself with the hopes of Appearing one who has long wished to be under your avowed Patronage and who from a sense of your Great and disinterested manner of Serving your Countrey, as well as his His private Obligations to you, is,

My Lord,
Y^r Lordship's Most Obedient
Most Devoted Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

WENDOVER

March 24th, 172 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Earl of Sunderland.

A week later Steele apologised for the delay of Mrs. Keek's servant, caused by a crowd of people importunate to speak with him on his coming to town. He sent his daughter such

¹ “We hear that a certain Knight Errant, called by the name of the Knight of the short face, or dirty-faced Dick, has been a cavaliering round the country in quest of an election, and that he carried two buffoons from one of the play-houses, to engage the people, which has had the effect proposed; but one of them played so many tricks, and entertained the women and children so well, that he had like to have run away with the election from the Knight, had he not been so just [as] to resign his interest to his patron” (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, April 7, 1722).

² Steele was member for Wendover until August 1727 (“Return of Members of Parliament,” Part II., 1878, p. 50).

tickets as he could by their present rules.¹ On the 12th April Steele and his brother managers of the one part, and John and Christopher Mosier Rich of the other part, entered into an Agreement, to the effect that neither party would, without consent, employ during the season persons belonging to the other theatre. There was to be a forfeit of £20 upon every breach of this contract; and the name of every fresh person employed was to be notified to the managers of the other theatre within a month.² There is a letter, dated 16th May, from a William Addisson, incapacitated by the gout, begging Steele to intercede with some of the nobility of his acquaintance, in order to gain the writer's admittance into the Charterhouse. He could promise Steele nothing but his prayers in return for his kindness.³ In a letter of the 26th May to Alexander Scurlock, Steele mentions the death of "poor Jonathan,"⁴ the eldest son of Lady Steele's uncle John, and acknowledges the receipt of £30, completing the £100 he desired; if it had been sent at once it would have been better to him than £200. "But I must submit to the inconveniences which a certain easiness and irregularity in my own affairs subject me to." He hoped to keep his expenditure so much within his income as not to put his friends to any further trouble.

¹ On the 22nd September following it was agreed that Steele, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth should each have twelve sealed tickets every week to give to their friends to see plays gratis, and that no written note from them or any one else should admit persons to see plays (Document, signed by Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, sold at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms, 16th March 1888).

² Add. MS. 12201 (Brit. Mus.). Articles to a similar effect, but in which Steele's name does not appear, were drawn up on the 1st November 1721, but do not seem to have been executed at that time (Add. Charters, 9306).

³ Blenheim papers.

⁴ Vol. i. page 202 (note), and vol. ii. page 116.

XIV.

“THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS.”

1722-3. ÆT. 49-51.

DURING the early months of the year coarse attacks upon the managers of Drury Lane Theatre frequently appeared in the Tory papers.¹ Cibber was charged with altering and spoiling old plays, and with rejecting new and deserving pieces. It was also said that some of the actors indulged in indecencies which made the theatre unfit for respectable people, even at a performance of the *Tender Husband*. Some Templars appear to have taken part in a riotous display of their dissatisfaction, which enabled one writer to say that Steele deserved better usage from them, considering that he had spent a great part of his life among the very meanest of their profession; so strong an attachment had he ever had to the Law! But the principal attack was upon Cibber. Steele, it was already known, had a new play in preparation. Vanbrugh wrote to Tonson, at Ledbury, on the 18th June: “With all this encouragement from the Town, not a fresh Poet appears; they are forc’d to act round and round upon the old stock, tho’ Cibber tells me, ’tis not to be conceiv’d, how many and how bad plays, are brought to them. Steel however has one to come on at Winter, a Comedy;² which they must commend. He tells me he’ll make you a visit in his way to Wales, and Congreve says he’ll poke out a letter to you,

¹ *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, January 13, 20, 27; February 3, 17; March 3, 1722.

² As long ago as 1720 Steele spoke in the *Theatre* (No. 19) of “a friend of mine” who was lately preparing a comedy according to the just laws of the stage, and had introduced a scene in which the first character bore unprovoked wrong, denied a duel, and still appeared a man of honour and courage. This was clearly an allusion to the play eventually to be published as *The Conscious Lovers*.

to thank you for his Cydir too."¹ It is probable that Steele did not actually go either to Wales or Scotland in this year, but his signature is found to documents connected with the Forfeited Estates Commission dated 16th February 1722 and 16th November 1722.²

The Conscious Lovers was acted at Drury Lane for the first time on the 7th November, "with new scenes, and all the characters new drest."³ Before the title was finally decided upon, it seems to have been in contemplation to call the play either "The Fine Gentleman" or "The Unfashionable Lovers."⁴ Mrs. Oldfield, who had acted in all Steele's plays, was the heroine, Indiana; Booth, who, when a boy, had won great applause at Westminster School as Pamphilus, the original of the character, was the hero, young Bevil; Cibber was Bevil's servant, Tom; and Mrs. Younger was Phillis, maid to Lucinda. Steele, according to Victor, who sat with the author in "Burton's Box" at the first performance, was charmed with all the actors except Griffin, who took the part of Cimberton.⁵ The play was a great success, enjoying what was then considered the long run of eighteen nights, with eight further performances before the end of the season, and on the 1st December⁶ it was published—with the date 1723 on the title-page—with a dedication to the King, for which Steele is said to have received five hundred guineas.⁷

¹ Papers of Mr. Baker, of Bayfordbury.

² Mr. Wills's MSS.

³ *Daily Courant*, November 7, 1722.

⁴ Nichols quotes as follows from the newspapers of October 2, 1722, but I have not been able to trace from what papers he took the passage:—"Sir Richard Steele's excellent new comedy, called *The Unfashionable Lovers*, will be acted on the 6th of next month. It is thought that this play is the best modern play that has been produced."

⁵ Victor's *Original Letters, Dramatic Pieces, and Poems*, i. 327-330.

⁶ *Daily Courant*.

⁷ *Daily Journal*, December 18, 1722. The play was published by Jacob Tonson. Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 303) gives the following memoranda:—"The *Lintots*. 'Copies when purchased.' Tonson, 1722, Mar. 1. His agreement for the half of Sir Richard Steele's Comedy that was to be published, £25. 0. 0.—1722. Oct. 10. For liberty to print 1500 *Grief-à-la-Mode* and *Tender Husband*, the sum of £14. 14. 0.—1722. Oct. 26. An assignment of the half of the *Conscious Lovers*, for £70. 0. 0.—Half of the copy of the *Tender Husband*."

In the Preface¹ Steele attributed the universal acceptance accorded to the play to the excellent manner in which every part was acted; a play is meant to be seen, not read. "The chief design of this was to be an innocent performance, and the audience have abundantly showed how ready they are to support what is visibly intended that way; nor do I make any difficulty to acknowledge that the whole was writ for the sake of the scene of the fourth act, wherein Mr. Bevil evades the quarrel with his friend." The general idea of the play was taken skilfully from Terence's *Andria*, but several parts are entirely original, including, of course, the scene directed against duelling. Cibber rendered valuable assistance. "Mr. Cibber's zeal for the work, his care and application in instructing the actors, and altering the disposition of the scenes, when I was, through sickness, unable to cultivate such things myself, has been a very obliging favour and friendship to me."² The scenes in which Cibber acted must have been a welcome relief from the over-serious passages which are to be found here and there in the play. Theophilus Cibber, who himself had a part in the original cast, says that when Steele finished the comedy, the parts of Tom and Phillis were not in it, and that Colley Cibber, when he heard it read, said he liked it upon the whole, but that it was rather too grave for an English audience, who think the end of a comedy is to make them laugh. Steele thereupon agreed to the addition of some comic characters, and at his request the play received many additions from and was

¹ Among the Blenheim papers there is a draft of this Preface, written on three folio pages, and there are also some preliminary rough notes. "Give up all the criticism upon the Stile, &c., which will keep till a Future occasion: What was now to be contended for was the —. The fourth Act was the business of the Play. The Case of Duelling. I have fought, nor shall I ever fight again. Addison told me I had a faculty of drawing Tears—and bid me compare the places in Virgil wherein the most judicious Poet made his Hero weep. . . . I shall endeavour to do what I can to promote noble things. . . . As for Power in the Playhouse I cannot imagine where it came into anybody's head I desired it."

² In 1749 Cibber wrote to Benjamin Victor: "Mr. Dyer is in Covent Garden House, to whom, at Mrs. Woffington's desire, I twice read the part of Tom in the *Conscious Lovers*; he acquitted himself with a good deal of natural spirit." The part of Phillis was a favourite one with Mrs. Woffington.

greatly improved by Cibber.¹ Steele afterwards professed to think that Cibber has only damaged the play by his additions.²

The first time Phillis and Tom³ appear together Phillis says: "If I was rich, I could twire and loll as well as the best of them. Oh Tom! Tom! Is it not a pity that you should be so great a coxcomb, and I so great a coquet, and yet be such poor devils as we are?" In another place Tom reminds Phillis of their first meeting.

Tom. . . . Ah! Too well I remember when, and how, and on what occasion I was first surprised. It was on the first of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, I came into Mr. Sealand's service; I was then a hobbledehoy, and you a pretty little tight girl, a favourite handmaid of the housekeeper. At that time we neither of us knew what was in us: I remember I was ordered to get out of the window, one pair of stairs, to rub the sashes clean; the person employed on the inner side was your charming self, whom I had never seen before.

Phillis. I think I remember the silly accident: What made ye, you oaf, ready to fall down into the street?

Tom. You know not, I warrant you—You could not guess what surprised me. You took no delight, when you immediately grew wanton, in your conquest, and put your lips close, and breathed upon the glass, and when my lips approached, a dirty cloth you rubbed against my face, and hid your beauteous form; when I again drew near, you spit, and rubbed, and smiled at my undoing.

Phillis. What silly thoughts you men have!

¹ T. Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, 1753, iv. 120.

² Page 314.

³ Among the Blenheim papers is a fragment, in Steele's writing, of a dialogue between two servants, Parmeno and Pythias—names taken, no doubt, from Terence's *Eunuchus*. They discuss the charm of the soft moments of servants in love, free from their usual restraints. Why should any man usurp more than his share of the atmosphere? The whole art of a serving-man is "to be here and there, and everywhere, unheard and unseen till you are wanted, and never absent when you are. This gives our Masters and Mistresses the free Room and Scope to do and Act as they please—They are to make all the Bustle, all the show—We are like convenient Demons or apparitions about 'em, never to take up space or fill the Air nor be heard of or seen but when commanded." Pythias remarks how much she learns from Parmeno's conversation, and produces a little collation from the last night's supper which she has prepared for him. Parmeno eats the eggs, gorges, sings a song, and says kind things between to Pythias.

This "flippant scene of low love" had been already charmingly described by Steele in the *Guardian*, No. 87, as one which he had recently observed while passing a gentleman's house. Several of the names, too, in the play were not new. Lucinda and her father, Mr. Sealand, Mr. Charles Myrtle, and Humphrey the valet had all been introduced in the *Theatre*, and Mr. Charles Myrtle had himself been named after Marmaduke Myrtle, of the earlier *Lover*. Steele went out of his way, in the second scene, to praise Addison's work; says young Bevil, reading as he enters, "These moral writers practise virtue after death: This charming Vision of Mirza! Such an author consulted in a morning sets the spirits for the vicissitudes of the day better than the glass does a man's person."

The Conscious Lovers was Steele's best play. Parson Adams thought it the only play fit for a Christian to see; indeed, he added, it contained "some things almost solemn enough for a sermon." By this touch Fielding indicated humorously one of its weaknesses as a comedy. But it was not the fact, as some of the critics thought, that the play was wrongly called a comedy; there was nothing inconsistent in the tears called forth by Indiana in the last tender scene. As Welsted said in the Prologue, Steele wished to

"Please by wit that scorns the aid of vice;
The praise he seeks from worthier motives springs,
Such praise, as praise to those that give it brings."

It was for the audience

"To chasten wit, and moralise the stage."¹

Steele said he hoped that the scene in which Bevil defied the false code of honour which then prevailed, and by so doing retained his friend, might have some effect upon the Goths and Vandals that frequented the theatre, or that a more polite audience might take their place. Numerous poems in praise of the good effect his writings had had on the society of his day were sent to Steele upon the production of this play—"the last blaze," as Victor puts it, "of Sir Richard's glory;" some of these

¹ The scene in which Cimberton coarsely criticises Lucinda makes it, unfortunately, impossible to say that the play is without blot.

have been printed, while others are still preserved at Blenheim in the form in which Steele received them.¹

The play called forth a good deal of criticism, much of it, however, being written merely to afford an opportunity for personalities.² Dennis began the attack with *A Defence of Sir Fopling Flutter*, published on the 2nd November,³ while Steele's play was still in rehearsal. The object of the pamphlet, as stated on the title-page, was to show that Etherege's play was rightly composed to answer the ends of Comedy, and that he had been barbarously attacked by Steele in the 65th *Spectator*; "by which it appears that the latter Knight knows nothing of the nature of Comedy." Dennis said that scandalous methods were being used to give the forthcoming play a false reputation; it had trotted as far as Edinburgh and Wales, and had been read to more persons than would be at the representation of it, or would read it when it was published. Laudatory notices,

¹ Among the writers were Joseph Mitchell, Joseph Dobbins, Jos. Harris, and D. Lewis. The burden of their verses was that pleasure and innocence were now united, and people would cease to be slaves to false wit. Mitchell concluded—

"He will, in spite of envy, ever rise;
Beloved of all but those whom all despise."

Lewis wrote (Add. MS. 22629, f. 182) that the stage and times, alike degenerate, had each reflected the other's crimes, with equal skill. It was for Steele

"To teach the stage whence true applause may rise,
And bring angelic virtue to our eyes."

It had ever been his part to inform and reclaim mankind; long might he live, to bestow upon them more of himself, before he rejoined Addison:

"But when thy meritorious toils shall end,
And thou shalt pass to glory and thy friend,
Mankind thy total absence must bemoan,
And trace their *Guardian* in thy work alone."

Some "Verses written in the Summer House where Sir R. Steele wrote his *Conscious Lovers*," are given in Nichols' *Select Collection of Poems*, vii. 313.

² "Where you hate the man, I see,
You never like his poetry.
The truth of this your verse discovers;
So you abused the *Conscious Lovers*."

("To a Gentleman, who had abused Waller," by Mrs. Mary Barber;
Poems on Several Occasions, 1734, p. 80.)

³ *Daily Post*.

too, had appeared in the newspapers, and these, Dennis suggested, came from Steele. As for the attack on Etherege, "I know a certain Knight who, though he should be allowed to be a gentleman born, yet is not a fine gentleman. I shall only add, that I would advise for the future all the fine gentlemen who travel to London from Tipperary to allow us Englishmen to know what we mean when we speak our native language." Dennis had evidently heard particulars of the new play, for he concluded by hoping—but evidently not expecting—that when *The Fine Gentleman* came upon the stage, the characters would be always drawn in nature, and a young man not given the qualities of an old one; that they would be the just images of their contemporaries; that instead of setting patterns for imitation, Steele would make those follies and vices ridiculous which ought to be shunned; that the subject of the comedy would be comical by its constitution; and that the ridicule would be in the principal incidents and characters.

Dennis was at once answered by Benjamin Victor, in *An Epistle to Sir Richard Steele, on his Play called The Conscious Lovers*. Victor had recently been introduced to Steele by Aaron Hill, and was easily provoked to enter the lists with the old and celebrated critic. Steele insisted that Victor's name should be printed in the front of the Epistle, which was then sold with the play.¹ It was published on the 29th November, and there was a second edition on the 4th December.² When Steele's play was published, Dennis, "this hoary bard, provoked by spleen and poverty," as Victor put it, returned to the charge with *Remarks on a Play, called The Conscious Lovers, a Comedy*.³ From the Preface it appears that the prices were raised when this play was produced, on account of the scenes, and the

¹ Victor's *Original Letters, &c.*, i. 327-330, and *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, ii. 99-101, 172. In his "Epistle" Victor attributes to Dennis the saying, "He who will make a pun will pick a pocket" (*Notes and Queries*, 6th S., xi. 511). To the second edition of the "Epistle" there was prefixed the Epilogue spoken by Mrs. Oldfield, but not given in the printed copies of the play. Bevil, it said, was indeed not like the man then too much in favour, but "On you it rests, to make your profit your delight."

² *Daily Journal*, November 29 and December 4, 1722.

³ Published on the 24th January 1723 (*Daily Journal*).

audiences wronged of £1200. The managers were "not contented, it seems, with getting, even at common prices, each of them a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds a year, which enables them to live in shameful luxury, disgraceful to Great Britain." Cibber and Steele, who appeared to have agreed to praise each other, had resolved to make the town swallow any entertainment which they thought fit to provide. Steele's play, Dennis said, seemed to him to be built upon several things which have no foundation either in probability, or in reason, or nature. For example, the filial obedience of young Bevil was carried a great deal too far;¹ and his behaviour to Indiana was still more unaccountable, for though he had in one sense concealed his passion, there was no retreat with honour for him, because by his generosity and constant visits he had raised a passion for him in Indiana, and had compromised her. "The catastrophe, I must confess, is very moving," but it might have been more surprising, if handled differently. The action in Terence's play was natural, as, for example, the conduct of Glycerium at the funeral of Chrysis; but the scene at the masquerade between Bevil and Indiana was an absurd imitation, for Indiana did not know that her affection was returned. As for Bevil, "this man of conscience and of religion is as arrant an hypocrite as a certain author," and is constantly dissimulating. Dennis concluded by saying that the sentiments were often frivolous, false, and absurd: the dialogue awkward, clumsy, and spiritless; the diction affected, barbarous, and too often Hibernian. Who could see without indignation crowds assembled to hear a parcel of Teagues talking Tipperary together, and applauding what they said?

Dennis's pamphlet was followed by another called *The Censor Censured, or, the Conscious Lovers Examined*: "In a dialogue

¹ Highmore, the painter, pointed to the relation between Bevil and his father as one of the obvious improbabilities of the play in a letter which he sent to Steele at the time, and which was first printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1762, xxxii. 404. Le Blanc wrote to M. de la Chaussée, praising Steele's play, especially act iv., which was exactly to La Chaussée's taste, and he quoted part of that act, in return for the pleasure afforded by receiving the "Ecole des Amis" (*Letters on the English and French Nations*, by M. L'Abbé le Blanc, 1747, i. 337-351).

between Sir Dicky Marplot and Jack Freeman. Into which Mr. Dennis is introduced by way of Postscript; with some observations on his late Remarks." In the Preface the writer, who adopts a more judicial air than Dennis, says the town was led to expect great things of the new play, and applauded it without taking time to consider whether it came up to what they had been promised. The *Fine Gentleman*, designed to recommend virtues, was in reality infamous for the contrary vices. "The masque of goodness is the surest cheat to play the devil in." The "Dialogue" in this pamphlet extends to eighty-eight pages, and consists chiefly of a comparison by Jack Freeman of Steele's play with Terence's, and of Bevil with Pamphilus, to the disadvantage, of course, of the modern version. Dick speaks of his "three years' labour and industry" upon his piece, which, whatever might be the case as regards his other works, was all his own. In order to accomplish the difficult task of reconciling Christianity and Gallantry, he had spent three whole years¹ in touching and retouching. He had been twelve months in fixing the title. "The Fine Gentleman," which he thought of first, was too plain; it was well to have a title rather obscure, as it raised curiosity. Tom was his very great favourite. Freeman replied that such polite expressions from an illiterate footman were unnatural and absurd. In this way the whole play is picked to pieces, and eventually Dick desired Freeman to put an end to the discourse, and to their friendship. Then Dennis entered, fell foul of Freeman, and had high words with Dick, who said, "Thou Generalissimo of Bear Garden critics, I and my Victorious Tonsor" ["one Victor, a Barber," note] "dare engage thee at any weapons." Freeman could not agree with Dennis's sweeping attack, for though he had no intention to vindicate the whole play, yet he thought some of Dennis's "Remarks" might have been spared; whereupon Dennis said Freeman had no more sense than Steele.

These voluminous reviews show at least that the play excited

¹ This agrees with a paragraph in *Mist's Weekly Journal* for November 18, 1721, printed a year before the play appeared. "Sir Richard Steele proposes to represent a character upon the stage this season that was never seen there yet: His *Gentleman* has been two years a dressing, and we wish he may make a good appearance at last."

considerable interest. Some of the periodical papers, too, devoted much of their space to the subject for several weeks. The *St. James's Journal* announced, on the 15th November, that the play had been acted with great applause for seven nights, and was like to continue two nights longer. "Cloudy" (Dennis) had, it was said, sent Steele a letter threatening him with violent Remarks on his new Comedy, unless his, Dennis's, plays (*e.g.*, his version of "Coriolanus") were acted. The same paper contained an announcement of a piece called "A short defence of two excellent comedies, viz., 'Sir Fopling Flutter,' and 'The Conscious Lovers;'" in answer to many scandalous reflections on them both, by a certain terrible Critick, who never saw the latter, and scarce knows anything of comedy at all." The next number of the *St. James's Journal* contained a review of Steele's play by "Dorimant," who thought it was a moot point if the play would not fail because of the morality inculcated in it. A great part of Squire Cimberton's conversation, "some of which has since been omitted," could not be reconciled with rules often laid down by Steele. "He [Steele] must always be agreeable, till he ceases to be at all; and yet . . . it has been always fashionable to use him ill: Blockheads of quality, who are scarce capable of reading his works, have affected a sort of ill-bred merit in despising 'em; and they who have no taste for his writings, have pretended to a displeasure at his conduct."¹

The *Freholder's Journal* had a series of hostile articles, extending from the 31st October to the 12th December. The first paper, published before the play came out, said that the ingenious author of the "Fine Gentleman," to which the town was now looking forward, could himself plead very little pretension to the character from his descent, and yet he was of a country that seemed to abound in it, judging by the number who came to this country, and planted themselves in conspicuous places. On the 14th November the writer said the result would have been better if all the play had been like the

¹ A second letter from "Dorimant" was given in the *St. James's Journal* for December 8. Wags made fun of the last paragraph of Steele's Preface, because it might be read as saying that he was surprised to find anything Cibber said true.

fourth act. On the 21st November there was a letter from "Tom Touchy," who had lost much by Steele's projects, and went to the first night of the play, to contribute to Steele's mortification, but found the applause too strong to be stemmed by him and the few with him. Booth, who had also lost much through Steele, acted the part of the Christian hero with his best powers. Yet Steele was only a plagiarist. The piece was said to have had striking moral effects; there were more tears than laughter. Two new scenes, of Charing Cross and the Mall, brought a great crowd. "You may see as far as from Whitehall to Temple Bar, and the shops and all: Then, there is the very sentry-box, the old soldier, my Lord's chair, and the trees, just as though they were all alive." The lawyers were a butt to the author, who perhaps had been sensible of their power. Other articles sneered at Victor, "a barber within the liberties of Drury Lane," and at Steele's Preface and Dedication, and alluded to the Fish Pool and the Music-Room, "that have lately haunted him in a very disagreeable manner." On the 13th December a pamphlet was published (of the same size, and fit to bind with the play), *Sir Richard Steele, and his new Comedy, called, The Conscious Lovers, vindicated from the malicious aspersions of Mr. John Dennis*. "Wherein Mr. Dennis's vile criticisms in defence of Sir Fopling Flutter are detected and exposed, and the author of them proved to know nothing of criticism."¹ The title of this piece sufficiently indicates its purport.

Mist's *Weekly Journal* continued to have remarks on the play for some months after its first presentation,² sometimes in connection with a long-standing series of attacks upon Cibber, sometimes in the course of a discussion as to how far poverty is a whetstone to the wits. The practice of doubling the prices, and thereby giving the town an expectation of something good, is here again referred to. "If therefore the Right Honourable the Managers of the Theatre in Drury Lane should, for weighty reasons, each think to add four horses more to his respective Coach, Chariot, or Berlin, who is so fit to be at the charge of it as the greatest dupe in the universe—the Public?"

¹ London, 1723, 4d. (*Post-Boy*, December 11-13, 1722).

² Mist's *Weekly Journal*, January 19, February 9, 16, March 30, 1723.

It was a great aid to success for an author to be, or to be supposed to be, in good circumstances. "Did not the whole town run in shoals to see *Dick's* last gouty production, being sent there by the fame of his having a thousand pounds a year in places, besides real and personal estate?" Other articles were in defence of Steele's play, one of them describing his trial on the top of Parnassus, before a full court of poets, with Apollo as judge. The accusers were the critics, who asked that he should be no longer enrolled as one of the English dramatists; but they could not agree upon any regular indictment. After Shakespeare had read the play in open court, Apollo ruled that the whole design was for the benefit of the public; that the author had painted Nature in very lively colours; and that he consulted sometimes the delight, always the instruction of mankind. He was therefore a Dramatic Poet, and he was a regular one, as he had carefully observed the three Unities. Apollo pointed out, however, one or two instances of what he thought defects. The critics were dissatisfied, but Apollo said they were but a handful of men, engaged to decry virtue and good manners; and when they had gone, he commended Steele for the service he had done in discountenancing immorality on the stage, through the whole current of his writings.

These are, of course, a portion only of the references to *The Conscious Lovers* in the press; but they will give some idea of the position then attained by criticism and journalism. The number of newspapers had grown considerably during the twenty-one years which had passed since Steele's first play was acted, and the weekly papers, especially, found room for articles on many subjects; but as a rule the standard reached was in no sense a high one.

BOOK EIGHTH.

CLOSING YEARS.

1723-1729. ÆT. 50-57.

- I.—FAILING HEALTH. SCHEME FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF DEBTS.
- II.—LITIGATION ABOUT THE THEATRE.
- III.—RETIREMENT AND DEATH. THE STEELE AND SCURLOCK FAMILIES.
- IV.—CONCLUSION.



I.

FAILING HEALTH. SCHEME FOR THE SETTLEMENT
OF DEBTS.

1723-5. ÆT. 50-3.

THE Mrs. Bullock mentioned by Steele in the first of the two following letters to his daughter Betty was some lady friend who had undertaken to look after the girls.¹ We do not now hear any more of Mrs. Keck.

DEAR CHILD

I send the Franks for Mrs. Bullock, to whom I desire you to write with Great Gratitude and respect, always remembering the Great obligation You have to Her for so tender an education ;

I am, Dear Betty,

Y^r Most Affectionate Father
and Most Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE

May 24th, 1723.

MY DEAR CHILD

I have received a letter from You, but without a date, which, my Dear, was a great omission. I ought not to find faults in so kind and so affectionate an epistle, but exactnesse is an excellent

¹ The following fragment among the Blenheim papers may be part of a draft letter to Mrs. Bullock : " I have in a great manner recovered my speech, and Hartily begg y^r pardon that In the Exigence I was in I trusted to y^r Virtue and Goodness to overlook my poor Orphans who[se] tender years might expose Their innocence to the Temptation and errors of the World. It was a of (*sic*) Great distresse In which I write to you, and you are the only creature that I could. . . ." Victor says (*Original Letters, &c.*, i. 354) : " My dear old friend, Sir Richard Steele, I remember, startled me, when he said, ' The condition of the happiest parents was a state not to be envied.' "

Quality which every one may be mistresse of, and therefore I would not have You want it. I am much better than I was, and attribute my recovery to the Prayers of my Dear Children. I have taken a great deal of pains to Serve the world and hope God will allow Me some time to serve my own family. My Good Girle employ Y^r self always in some good work, that You may be as good a Woman as Your Mother. Pray remember Me to Dear little Molly, and know Me for, Madam,

Y^r Affectionate Father and Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

July 18th 1723.

D'Urfey died in February of this year, and left his watch to Steele, who, we are told, paid for his old acquaintance being buried in the porch of St. James's Churchyard. An inscription, in large letters, is still to be seen on the south side of the church: "Tom Durfey. Dyed Feb^{ry} y^e 26: 1723."¹

On the 3rd June a Mr. T. Burnett wrote to Steele about a new project, the "Navivium," in which Steele had some part.² Gillmore had died, leaving his family, apparently, in needy circumstances. "I rec^d y^{rs} this morning in w^{ch} y^u tell me of many threats I have given y^u in it, I profess I know of none, unless it be a threat to tell you, that I have a concern in y^e Navivium, and we desir to join wth you in the carrying it on, if you please, and if not, that we will do it ourselves." Burnett had said how far he thought Steele's right to the Navivium, and the profits of it, was good, but this ought to offend no man. The only question was whether Steele would maintain his right in it, founded on his Articles, and would act heartily in the affair, which might then soon be brought to bear. "I recollect indeed that I said that I was not willing this affair shd be delayed as y^r former Proj^{ct} had been, and y^t Mr. Gilmore, I bel^d, was thrust into his Grave by continual disapptm^{ts}." But they had it now in their power to be rich enough if they did not suffer trifles to obstruct it. "I am not for loosing

¹ Letters of administration were taken out on the 15th March (Court of the Archdeacon of Middlesex). John Bates, of St. James's, was D'Urfey's principal creditor; the surety was James Lucas, Christ Church, London, apothecary. The deceased was described as late of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, a bachelor.

² Blenheim MSS.

time and I look out only for proper hands to work by, either wth or without you, as y^u think fit." He was for pushing on with the greater earnestness, because of the unfortunate circumstances of the Gillmores, "w^{ch} had been long ago about y^e world had M^r Gil—— taken my advice; but y^e man was fated to be undone. I will not trouble y^u wth more yⁿ, that I am, S^r Y^r very humble Serv^t." This is all we hear of the Navivium. There is also a letter at Blenheim sent to Steele on the 28th June 1723 by his daughter, Elizabeth Aynston, thanking him for his goodness "in paying that sum of money tho: to your own Disadvantage." Her husband presented his duty, and wished to know where some house Steele had mentioned was, and what was the rent; he was out at present, but would write again about the matter. "He will make all possible haste to London, but I am sure it must be six weeks before he can reach thither."

Monetary troubles again forced themselves to the front this summer. £900 was due to William Woolley, of the borough of Darly, to whom Gery, upon becoming bankrupt, had assigned the debt which had been assigned to him by Minshull; and on the 17th June an indenture was made between Steele and Woolley, reciting that there then remained due to Woolley £900, the residue of a greater sum for which one-fifth part of the profits of the theatre was mortgaged by Steele to Minshull, by whom it was assigned to Charles Gery, and by him to Woolley. This original mortgaged deed for £1200 Woolley delivered to Steele, upon payment of £300 on delivery, and the assignment to Woolley, his executors, &c., of the fifth part of the stock, for the better security of the payment of the remaining £900; and on the 17th July Steele signed a note upon Richard Castleman and every other treasurer of the Company of Comedians at Drury Lane, requiring each of them yearly on the 23rd January to pay to Woolley or his order £200 out of the profits coming due to Steele, until the £900, with interest at five per cent., should be fully paid. On the 18th June Steele gave a receipt for £708. 8s. 2d., the money due to him out of the profits of the theatre up to that date; and commencing from that day, the other managers each took for his own use £1. 13s. 4d. for every day upon which a play

was acted, exclusive of Steele, a step which afterwards led to prolonged litigation.¹

There were several actions for debt during the year. The first, in Hilary term, was brought by Thomas Brodrick, who said Steele had borrowed £166 from him on the 5th January last, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster; it had never been repaid, and he claimed 100s. damages. Steele's attorney, Charles Chambers, had nothing to say, and judgment was given for the complainant, with 50s. damages.² On the 3rd July, in Trinity term, William Oliphant brought a bill against Steele, "habentem privilegē Parliamenti," to the effect that on the 1st June 1723 Steele owed him £100 for hay, forage, and other merchandise, and another £100 for other hay, &c. Oliphant promised that Steele should have and enjoy a stable, coach-house, and lodging room, and provided hay, straw, oats, &c., for Steele's horses, for all which Steele promised to pay. This, however, he had not done, and Oliphant claimed £150 damages. Steele's attorney, William Booth, said nothing in bar, and the Sheriff was commanded to inquire diligently what damages Oliphant had sustained. The inquisition was returned on the 28th November 1723, when it appeared that the complainant had sustained £89. 14s. 6d. damages, with 20s. costs; judgment was therefore given in his favour for £90. 14s. 6d, and £7. 15s. 6d. was also adjudged to him by the Court.³ Finally, in Michaelmas term, Catherine Yale, widow and administratrix of Elihu Yale, Esq., deceased, brought an action against Steele. The damages were £122. 10s., and Steele having failed to bring forward material sufficient in the law, judgment was given against him on the 14th November. Mrs. Yale was a party to the Indenture Quadripartite of June 1724,⁴ but in Michaelmas term, 1725, she found it necessary to take further pro-

¹ Chancery Proceedings, Steele, &c., v. Wilks, &c. (Sewell, 1714-58, No. 300); and Steele, &c., v. Woolley (Sewell, 1714-58, No. 66).

² Common Pleas Judgment Rolls, Hilary 9 George I., 640. From an account printed in Steele's *Correspondence*, 1809, ii. 634, it appears that Brodrick was paid £30 in the spring of 1724 out of the profits of the theatre. This was probably the Thomas Broderick who was M.P. for Stockbridge.

³ Common Pleas Judgment Roll, Michaelmas 10 George I., 595. For more of William Oliphant see pp. 299-301.

⁴ Page 300.

ceedings, and on November 17, 1725, another judgment was entered against Steele.¹

The country was much agitated in consequence of the discovery of renewed Jacobite plots, in which Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, had taken a leading part. In June 1723 the profligate Philip, Duke of Wharton, started an able periodical, *The True Briton*, in defence of Atterbury, and in July Steele wrote two papers, which proved to be the last pieces he published, for a periodical called *Pasquin*.² In these papers—Nos. 46 and 51, published on July 9 and 26—Steele spoke in plain terms of the Duke of Wharton and of Bishop Atterbury. Atterbury, who was then in exile, would, he said, be chiefly missed as a writer of epigrams; this excellence, “joined with a consummate hypocrisy and glaring impudence, which my Lord had to a great perfection, could not fail of gaining almost as many admirers as he saw men.”

Encouraged by the success of *The Conscious Lovers*, Steele seems to have endeavoured to finish another play, which, however, was never completed. “We hear,” said the *London Journal* on the 14th September, “Sir Richard Steel will present the Town with another new Comedy this Winter.” Nichols printed several scenes of the *School of Action*, and there are some memoranda relating to that piece at Blenheim; but what has survived only shows how far the play was from completion. The scene is the theatre, and thither an attorney from the North, the guardian of a young lady with whom Severn, a barrister, is in love, is brought, under the belief that it is an inn. There is also a fragment of a play to which Nichols gave the name *The Gentleman*; it is another version of Steele’s

¹ Exchequer Pleas Order Book, Michaelmas 10 George I., and Michaelmas 12 George I.

² *Pasquin* lasted from November 28, 1722, to March 27, 1724; the principal writers seem to have been Duckett and Nicholas Amherst. In the copy in the Burney Collection in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to Isaac Reed, Nos. 46 and 51 are marked as by “S^r R^d Steele;” the set in the Bodleian wants No. 51, but No. 46, which is marked “By Steele,” is the copy used by Nichols when he reprinted these papers, together with the *Theatres*, &c. In a Character of Steele (in “Memoirs towards a History of Men eminent in the Republic of Letters,” 1731) it is stated that “he likewise wrote some of the *Pasquins*, and two papers called the *Whig*.” It does not appear what periodical was intended by the “Whig.”

own paper in the *Spectator* (No. 88) upon the way in which servants imitated their masters, a paper which afterwards furnished the idea for *High Life Below Stairs*. A few days before the announcement had appeared that a new play might be expected from him in the winter, Steele had been compelled by ill health to leave London for Bath. His heart, too, was very heavy.

MY DEAR CHILD

This confesses to my Dear Children that I came to this place three Weeks ago with a very Heavy heart, but I hope I am now better, and desire Betty to write to Me and let Me know What she hears from Mrs. Bullock and the like accounts, For my soul is wrapped up in y^r Welfare and I am Dear Children,

Y^r Most Affectionate Father and
Most Humble Ser^{nt},

RICHARD STEELE.

Oct^{br} 1st, 1723.

Direct to S^r Richard Steele, Member of Parliament at Bath.

In another letter he asked his daughter Betty to write every week; it would be a great comfort to him, and, he hoped, hasten his recovery, and their meeting. On the 2nd November he wrote to Mrs. Martha Ceney, regretting that he could not at present settle an account for lodgings at her house at Fulham. On his return to town he would discharge the debt, but as he believed all the time he might in future spend in the country would be at the Bath or in Wales, he asked her to take his letter for a surrender of the lodgings. A few days later came the news of the death of Eugene Steele, a boy of eleven, and his father's only son. Steele's letter to his daughter is very pathetic.

MY DEAR CHILD

I have Your letter with the news of Eugenes Death and y^r reflections thereupon. Do You and y^r Sister stay at home, and do not Go to the Funerall. Lord Grant Me Patience, Pray write to Me constantly.

Y^r Affectionate Father
and Obedient Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

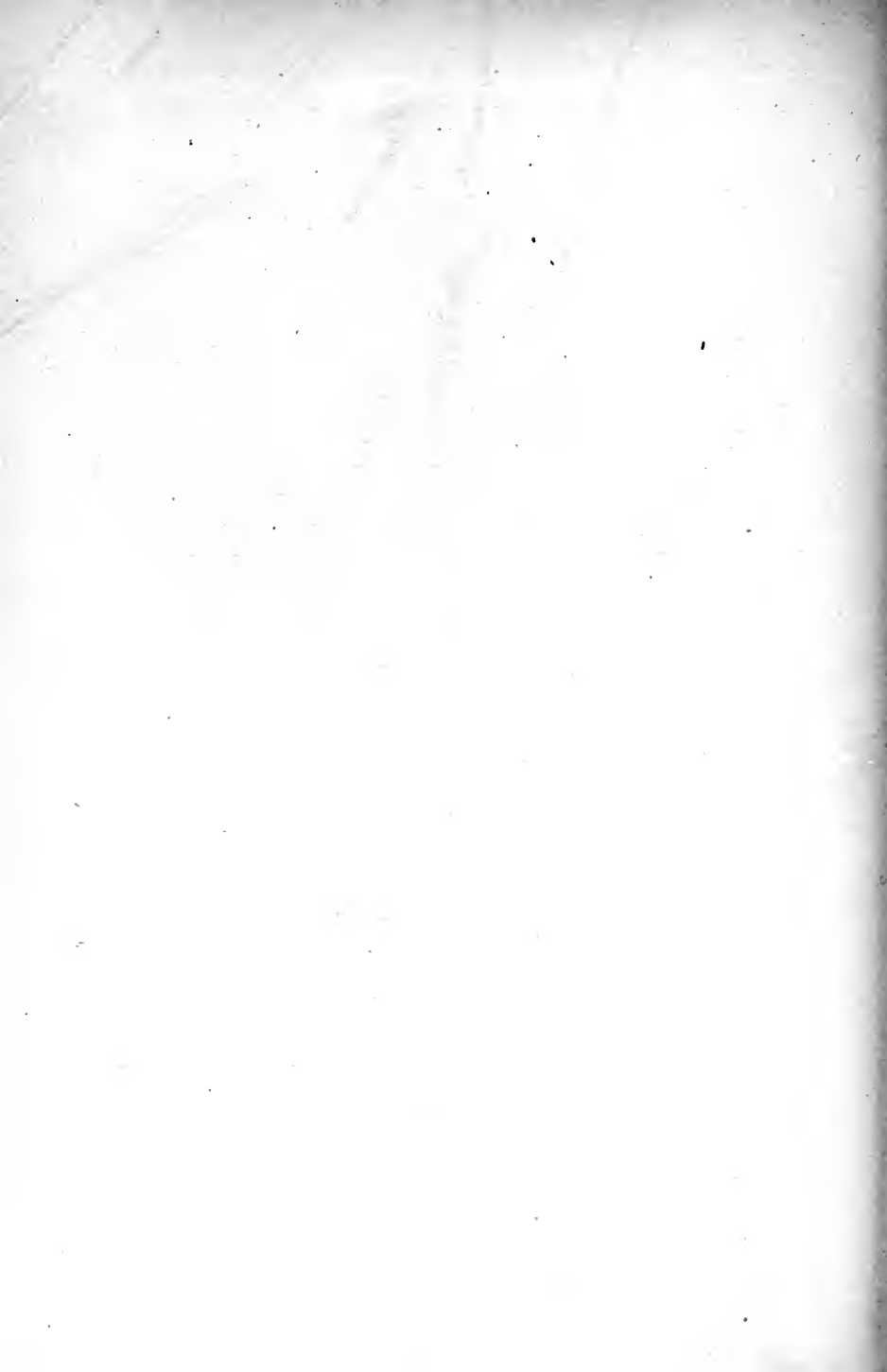
November 22^d 1723.

Why don't you mention Molly. Is she Dead too ?



STEELE AND HIS CHILDREN.

From Ivories printed about 1723.



In subsequent letters he chided his daughter for omitting to write "in the distress you must needs think I was in when I heard nothing of you. Your mourning was no matter of excuse, for you might have found time to write to your Father, whatever other business you had." He expressed the greatest obligations to Mrs. Snow, for the trouble it must be to have his daughters at her house. From the next letter, written by a servant's hand, because of his "present infirmity," we learn that Betty, if not her sister also, had, by Mrs. Bullock's arrangement, been placed under the care of some new governess. If she was a well-bred woman, Steele wrote, he should honour her as his sister for her justice and kindness. He hoped to see his children again when Parliament met. On the 21st December he was preparing to come to town, but on the 8th January 1724 he was still at Bath, and his movements during the next few months are involved in obscurity. On the 22nd February Mrs. Bullock wrote to Steele from Dines Hall, expressing surprise at having received a letter from Steele objecting to his daughters being placed at Mr. Snow's. Mrs. Snow had only consented to take them as a special favour to Mrs. Bullock, who considered it would be a great advantage for them to be under the care of a good, sensible, well-bred lady. Steele had admitted that Mr. Snow had a great deal of merit, yet he had some groundless suspicion. The Snows were annoyed at Steele's hesitation, and the girls were pleased with the idea of going there. If Steele objected, they must remain in lodgings, which would be considerably more expensive. "The terms I place them upon at Mr. Snows is a hundred a year for their Board, in this I enclude everything but Masters, Cloth, Pocket expenses, Doctors & Apothecarys, & think it very reasonable, if you consider their way of living, & using their Coach."¹ On March 14 Mrs. Bullock wrote again asking for a definite reply whether the care of the young ladies was to be taken out of her hands or not. The time for which their lodgings were engaged expired on Wednesday week. This letter is endorsed by Steele as answered on the 19th. On the 1st July Mr. Matthew Snow wrote: "If you are satisfy'd I have no reason to be otherwise, but least

¹ Blenheim MSS.

by any future insinuations or stories of designing People you should be induc'd to think hardly of me in relation to y^e subject of my former letter, I desire you will be pleas'd to ask both y^r daughters, whether I did not oppose y^e admission of them into our house. I need not mention to you my private reasons for it: but that was a proceeding in me so contrary to y^e designs w^{ch} you have been alarm'd with, that I will not trouble you with any more. I heard that you and y^r daughters were going into y^e countrey, & therefore chose this time to clear myself of y^r suspicions, hoping that you wou'd not think it an artifice in me now, to renew y^e familiarity between our families."¹

The closeness of the dates of the two following letters is puzzling. Nichols surmised that Steele was at Hereford when they were written. He was boarded and lodged, says Victor, in that city—where his friend Dr. Hoadly was now Bishop—at the house of a mercer, who was his agent, and who received the rents of his wife's estate. The first letter, however, that we have, which is dated from Hereford, was written in February 1725. Victor, too, who, during the last year Steele was in London, "seldom missed the pleasure of seeing him in some part of every day," says that Steele retired from London to Hereford in 1725.²

MY DEAR LITTLE GIRLE

Pray send me word when Mrs. Evans and You begin Your Journey, and let Her know she shall be well received Here by all us Country People. God send us an happy Meeting.

Dear Child,

Y^r Affectionate Father, and

Humble Servant,

RICHARD STEEEL.

Give my Service to the Good old man and to His Son and his Sons and His cousin Betty.

Aprill 5th 1724.

DEAR BETTY

I desire You to be carefully dress't to-day in y^r Black in order to receive a visitant, in Honour of y^r Brother. Let your

¹ Blenheim MSS.

² *Original Letters, Dramatic Pieces, and Poems*, i. 329, 330.

sister be in Her White, and be both as Cheerfully suited as You can be. I shall call upon You soon after dinner and am y^r Freind upon all occasions.

Dear Betty,
Y^r Obedient Faithfull Father.

RICHARD STEELE.

Ap: 8th 1724.

Steele seems to have been in town in May, when he wrote twice to Mrs. Clayton, Mistress of the Robes to the Princess of Wales, asking her to give some Petition to the Princess.¹

MADAM

May 1724.

You will, I hope, forgive that I take the liberty, as I am bereft both of limbs and speech, to address the enclosed petition to your care. You have language in perfection, but I know, more for your friends than yourself. I beg the favour of you to obtain of her Royal Highness her pleasure herein, and you will infinitely oblige,

Madam, Your most obedient
and most humble servant

RICHARD STEELE.

MADAM

It was with the greatest confidence and Gratitude that I receiv'd your message yesterday, and after such a remarkable change by reason of sicknesse, and all other kinds of misfortune I cannot but acknowledge to you your Generosity in Espousing the cause of so neglected a Creature as I am, was the more surprising. It is the Greatest happinesse that Tempers like Yours can be heard in Courts, and I acknowledge to you let Her Royall Highnesse do as she pleases, Her doing any thing will be a great Bounty to a man, who has neglected Himself to the most deplorable condition, and hopes only to let His Children know their fortunes, and live in a more regular oeconomy and Guard for the future.

I am, Madam,
Y^r Most Obedient
Most Devoted Humble Servant

RICHARD STEELE.

May 27th, 1724.

M^{rs} Clayton.

¹ The second letter is printed from the original, in the Sundon Correspondence, Add. MS. 20105, f. 34. The first is taken from the *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, by Mrs. K. Thomson, 1847, i. 57.

A Proposal for the payment of Steele's debts which was drawn up on the 23rd April seems to have been carried out, and from an examination of the statement it will be seen that, as Steele lived for more than five years after it was prepared, we may fairly conclude that all his debts were paid before his death. As Dr. John Hoadly says, Steele's retirement into the country was the result of "a principle of doing justice to his creditors," and not, as Swift wrote maliciously after his death, because of the "perils of a hundred gaols."¹ This was the scheme:—

	£	s.	d.
Debts in all are	4052	0	0
Debts which he may take his own time for	800	0	0
Debts to be in a course of payment are	3252	0	0
In hand, to apply to them, is	400	0	0 ²
	Remains	2852	0 0
Household goods are	100	0	0
	Remains	2752	0 0

¹ "Thus Steele, who owned what others writ,
And flourished by imputed wit,
From perils of a hundred gaols,
Withdrew to starve and die in Wales."

(*A Satire on Dr. Delany, 1730.*)

² Persons to be paid 400*l.* which is in hand :

	£	s.	d.
Keen	55	0	0
Dawson	100	0	0
Brewer	20	0	0
Servants	60	0	0
Aynston	100	0	0
Landlord	30	0	0
	Remains	365	0 0
		35	0 0
		400	0 0
Household goods	120	0	0
		155	0 0
Dawson more	100	0	0
	Remains in hand	55	0 0
Gilpin paid	10	10	0
	Remains	44	10 0

	Brought forward	2752	0	0
Woolley's debt, already agreed to be paid at the rate of 200 <i>l.</i> a-year out of the Playhouse, is		700	0	0
		<hr/>		
	Remains	2052	0	0
Remaining annual income of the Playhouse, after the said deduction of 200 <i>l.</i> a-year, is 500 <i>l.</i> ; which in four years will produce 2000 <i>l.</i>				
To answer		2052	0	0
		<hr/>		
In the mean time, in security for the payment of the said debts, there is Playhouse stock		1200	0	0
Three years' income after Sir Richard's death		2100	0	0
		<hr/>		
	In all	3300	0	0
		<hr/>		

I propose, That the income of the Playhouse be put into a Trustee's hands for the payment of the debts as above, under the security above mentioned.

That Mr. Plaxton be appointed Paymaster, to receive the money from the Playhouse, and pay it to the creditors; and that David Scurlock be appointed Trustee, to inspect accounts of the Playhouse, and to see that all money thence arising to Sir Richard be only applied to the said payment.

Mem. That these debts may be sooner paid, by the demand which Sir Richard has in equity upon the Managers, upon account of the clandestine alienation of 30*l.* a-week to their own use, contrary to his right of a full fourth share of all the clear profits.

And likewise that the said debts may be sooner paid by the accidental advantages of a new Play, which Sir Richard may produce next Winter.

Besides that I may have rated the annual income of the Playhouse at less than its real value (in calling it 700*l.* per annum) if all Sir Richard's just income is duly paid him hereafter.

On the 3rd June an Indenture Quadripartite¹ was made between Steele of the first part; Wilks, Cibber, and Booth of the second part; William Oliphant,² of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, innholder, Robert Barker, of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, gent., Robert Gardner, of Westminster, Esq., Sir John Eyles,

¹ Steele's bill in the Chancery suit, Steele, &c., v. Wilks, &c. (Sewell, 1714-58, No. 300).

² See p. 292.

Bart., Sir Thomas Cross, John Rudge, Matthew Lant, Roger Hudson, Edmund Halsey, John Lade, Gabriel Roberts, and Richard Hopkins, Esquires, trustees of the late Directors of the South Sea Company, Catherine Dawson, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, widow, Robert Randall, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, brewer, Thomas Houghton, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, tailor, George Filkin, of the same parish, undertaker, Richard Chapman, of Holborn, tailor, Henry Cartwright, of Golden Square, Esq., William Plaxton, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, gent., George Tilden, of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, linen-draper, John Nottingham, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, corn-chandler, William Lyssyman, of the same, vintner, Francis Cornish, of St. Anne's, Westminster, farmer, William Davis, of St. James's, tallow-chandler, Owen Lloyd, of the Inner Temple, stationer, — Yale,¹ of St. Andrews, Holborn, —, and Richard Scott, of the City of London, painter, of the third part; and David Scurlock, clerk, of the fourth part. In this Indenture, after reciting the purport of the Articles of Agreement of September 1721, between Steele, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, of the Indenture of the 17th June 1723, and of Steele's note to Castleman of the 17th July 1723,² it was stated that Steele was indebted to several persons as follows, viz., Oliphant, £186. 4s. 6d., Barker, £253, Gardner, £163, Trustees of the South Sea Directors, £133, Mrs. Dawson, £100, Randall, £41. 16s. od., Houghton, £115, Filkin, £33. 15s. od., Chapman, £42, Cartwright, £160, Plaxton, £160, Tilden, £37, Nottingham £26. 17s. 5d., Lyssyman, £12, Cornish, £13, Davis, £16, Lloyd, £77. 10s. od., Yale, £60, and Scott, £43. 15s. 9d. (making £1676. 18s. 8d. in all), and that these persons had agreed to take as security for payment of their debts and interest Steele's fourth part of the profits of the theatre, with all arrears thereof, with all other parts accruing to Steele, and that Steele had agreed to the same accordingly, subject to the payment of the £900 due to Woolley. Steele, therefore, in pursuance of this Agreement, at the nomination of Oliphant and the others, and in trust for them, granted to David Scurlock, his executors, &c., all the said fourth part and all other parts due to Steele from the theatre, in order that Scurlock

¹ See p. 292.² Pages 266-8, 291-2.

might pay the several persons named their debts; that is to say, to Oliphant, £186. 4s. 6d. on or before Christmas next; to Barker, £53 in February next, £100 in November 1725, and £100 more, with interest for the two last-mentioned sums, in November 1726;¹ to Gardner, £63 in March next, and £100, with interest for both sums, in December 1725; to Yale, £40 in March next, and £25, with interest for both sums, in February 1725; to the Trustees of the South Sea Directors, £33 at Ladyday next and £100 on Ladyday following; to Scott, £43. 15s. 6d., with interest, at Ladyday next.² Whatever remained over and above out of the profits was to be applied towards paying the remainder of the aforesaid debts, amounting in the whole to £840. 18s. 5d., proportionably, till the whole with interest from the date of these presents should be fully paid. And Steele constituted David Scurlock to be his attorney for him, and in his name, to ask, demand, and receive from Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, or such persons as should be appointed receivers of the profits of the theatre one full fourth part of the net money arising therefrom, and in his name to give such receipts as should be required for

¹ There were proposals to Mr. Barker (who was apparently landlord of the house which Steele had in St. James's Street), dated 18th October 1724, in which Steele offered to pay (1) £100 down, (2) £100 more on 30th November 1724, (3) £50 more on 26th February 1724-25; (4) £50 every year on the 10th December, till the whole debt was discharged. In the meantime, a security of £3600 was given for the payment of all the money that was due, or should become due, to Mr. Barker for his house in St. James's Street, in case Steele died before the debt was finally paid. And this debt might be sooner discharged than was here proposed, by contingent advantages of Steele's bringing a play on the stage next winter, &c. On the other hand, Mr. Barker was willing to take up his lease of the said house at Michaelmas.

² On a slip of paper Steele has left the following memoranda:—

	£	s.	d.
1724. Before Christmas, to Oliphant	189	0	0
Jan. 23. Woolley	200	0	0
Feb. 20. Barker	53	0	0
Ditto, Nov. 20, 1725, with interest, £100.			
Ditto, Nov. 20, 1726, with interest, £100.			
Gardiner, on Ladyday, 1725	63	0	0
Yale, ditto.	40	0	0
Scot, ditto	30	0	0
Hawes, (Trustees)	33	0	0
Ditto, on Ladyday, 1725, with interest, £100.			
	£608	0	0

the same. And in the same Indenture was a proviso to the effect that the estate thereby assigned and granted should be subject to the payment of £900 to Woolley, and to the covenants and agreements in the indenture of mortgage to Woolley.

In August 1724 Steele was at Carmarthen, whence he wrote to Walpole, asking for the stewardship of St. David's—vacant through Mr. Clavering being made Bishop of Llandaff—for David Scurlock, who was recommended both by the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Clarke. In the following February Steele was in Hereford, writing to his younger daughter to say how heartily glad he was to hear that she thought of coming to him; and in July 1725 he was again at Carmarthen. In February he received £100 from the King's bounty.¹

Two books were published in 1725 which have been already noticed. The first was Charles Lillie's collection of *Original and Genuine Letters sent to the Tatler and Spectator*, in two volumes. Steele's permission to print these letters—"if you take care that no person or family is offended at any of them, or anything in them published contrary to religion or good manners"—is dated March 2, 1723-24. "I have," he wrote, "a great deal of business, and very ill health, therefore must desire you to excuse me from looking over them." In the Dedication to Steele, Lillie says that he found an agreeable readiness in his subscribers to come into anything that had the sanction of Steele's name, and which bore but an allusion to his works. Among those subscribers are the names of "Mr. Daniel De Foe" and "Mr. Daniel De Foe Junior." The second work referred to was *The Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe*, printed towards the end of October 1725,² but with the date 1726 on the title-page. Nothing need be added to what has already been said about that volume.

¹ "Whitehall Treasury Chambers 4 February 1724. Present
Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr. Baillie
Sir Charles Turner Mr. Yonge

Mr. Dodington

Sir Richard Steele to be paid One hundred pounds by the hand of Mr. Lowther as his Majesty's Bounty" (Treasury Minute Book, 1724-27, vol. xxv., p. 13, i.).

² Mist's *Weekly Journal*, October 16, 1725. Another book, already noticed, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Abel, Toby's Uncle*, which is also dated 1726, was published on December 11, 1725 (Mist's *Weekly Journal*).

II.

LITIGATION ABOUT THE THEATRE.

1725-8. ET. 53-6.

THE state of affairs at Drury Lane Theatre had for some time been going from bad to worse, and since June 1723 Wilks, Cibber, and Booth had each taken £1. 13s. 4d. for every acting day, to recompense them for their labours. Steele, they contended, had totally absented himself, and if he made the business a sinecure, they must be paid for their extraordinary care. On the 12th December 1724 the three managers wrote to Steele, urging him to return to town with all possible speed, and in the meantime to reply at once. The audiences decreased daily, and they could not contend against the operas, French comedians, and low entertainments which attracted the people to the other houses. All they could do was to sell out upon the best terms they could, when any of them might become adventurers in what proportion they pleased. The profits had always been more than double what they had been in the past year; but the low state to which they were reduced should be kept secret. It is probable that Steele never returned to London after receiving this letter; in any case, we know nothing further of his relations with the other managers until September 1725, when a suit was begun in the Court of Chancery which lasted nearly three years. The complainants in the original action were Sir Richard Steele, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Knt., and David Scurlock, of St. James's, Westminster, Clerk, on behalf of themselves and several creditors of Steele; the defendants were Wilks, Cibber, Booth, Castleman, and Woolley.¹

¹ Chancery Proceedings, Sewell 1714-58, No. 300.

In their bill, dated 4th September 1725, the complainants, after describing the Indenture Quadripartite of June 3, 1724,¹ the Articles of Agreement of September 1721,² the Indenture between Steele and Woolley of June 17, 1723, and the note to Castleman of July 17, 1723,³ said that they well hoped they should have had the benefit of the assignment and letter of attorney to Scurlock for the payment of Steele's debts and incumbrances, and that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth would have ordered the treasurer of the theatre to have paid and duly accounted with Scurlock weekly, and for all arrears due to Steele at the time of the assignment, as in all justice and equity they ought to have done, the rather because Woolley had been long since paid the £900 due to him, together with all interest thereupon. But Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, confederating together with Castleman, their treasurer, and with Woolley and others, to defraud the complainants of their just right, and to elude the force of the assignment made by Steele for the benefit of his creditors, refused to come to any account with the complainants touching the profits, pretending that the charges they had been put to in finding clothes, scenes, &c., had been so great that they had made little or no clear profit, and yet they at the same time refused to disclose their expenses; and at other times they pretended that Steele by himself or his agents had from time to time received his full share of the profits; whereas the complainants expressly charged that the profits, over and above all expenses, had been very great, and that neither Steele nor any person acting by his order had received any but a very small and inconsiderable part of his share of the profits since the time of his entering into partnership with Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, and that there was now a very great sum owing to him. And at other times the defendants, and especially Woolley, pretended that the £900 secured for Woolley was not yet paid, and that until that was paid the provisions for the other creditors could not and ought not to take place; but the complainants expressly charged that this £900 was and ought long since to have been paid out of the profits of the fourth part belonging to Steele; and Woolley and the others refused to inform Steele how much had been

¹ Page 299.² Page 266.³ Page 291.

paid to Woolley. And at other times Wilks, Cibber, and Booth pretended that they, on the 24th January 1719-[20], were, together with Steele, suspended by the Lord Chamberlain from further acting, and that from the time of this suspension (whatever licence they afterwards obtained for proceeding therein), they were not answerable to Steele for any part of the profits; whereas Steele expressly charged that the suspension lasted only two days or thereabouts, neither could the Lord Chamberlain or any other person thereby or otherwise except by due course of law deprive him of his share of the profits, wherein he had a just freehold during his life by the Grant and Letters Patent from His Majesty; and therefore Wilks, Cibber, and Booth ought to pay and be accountable to him for his just share as if no such suspension had been. And at other times the defendants pretended that by some provision in the aforesaid Articles of Agreement it was provided that neither of the parties thereto should at any time sell, mortgage, part with or incumber his or their share without the consent in writing of the rest of the said parties, and it was pretended that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth never gave such assent to the assignment made by Steele to Scurlock; whereas Steele and Scurlock declared that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth were well aware of the assignment before it was made, and had copies of it delivered to them severally afterwards, and although they did not give their consent in writing, yet they did not oppose or forbid the same; and if they had, yet the same being for the payment of Steele's creditors, it ought to be supported and made good by the Honourable Court, or at least it could not debar Steele from having an account of his share of the profits. Yet upon these and the like pretences the defendants not only refused to pay Scurlock, on behalf of Steele's creditors, but likewise refused to come to an account with Steele. Sometimes they pretended that they were entitled to a dividend of £10 a piece each week, or some such considerable sum, out of the profits, in consideration of their extraordinary trouble in the management of the theatre and their playing their several parts, previous to and exclusive of the dividend to be made under the Articles between them and Steele, and they had accordingly ever since

the date of the said Articles appropriated these sums, regardless of Steele's share or interest. And they pretended to be entitled to the whole of the money given by His Majesty or any of the Royal Family when they were graciously pleased to be present at any performances, and they had kept such moneys; whereas the complainants declared that Steele had a right to his share of all profits whatsoever. And the defendants pretended that they had a right to, and had set aside for their own use, £20 a night or some greater sum under the name of several constant charges, contingencies, and bills, and pretended that Steele had no right to share therein; and Steele charged that in favour of Mrs. Oldfield, Mrs. Porter, and Mrs. Booth, three of the actresses at Drury Lane, on their respective benefit nights the defendants had forborne to deduct the necessary expenses of the house out of the profits of the night, as they ought to have done, but had placed the same to the account of the partnership, whereby Steele had been charged a fourth part of those expenses without any profit whatever; and on the benefit nights allowed to under-officers and others of the theatre, they had deducted £5 each night, which they had shared and divided, without admitting Steele to any share. And sometimes the defendants pretended that Steele had no colour to call them to account touching any of these deductions or allowances to themselves, because he had from time to time passed and allowed these accounts without objection, and agreed to the said deductions, &c.; but this he never did; if he had passed accounts without objection, it was through want of knowledge or oversight. And Wilks, Cibber, and Booth had in other ways defrauded Steele; it was therefore prayed that writs of subpoena might be issued to compel them, together with Castleman and Woolley, to answer these premises.

The "joint and several answers" of Wilks, Cibber, Booth, and Castleman are dated October 13, 1725. Long before the Letters Patent to Steele, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth had, as they said, a licence to act at Drury Lane, and were acting there at the Queen's death, and had scenes, &c., there of great value; and a short time after the Queen's death they, looking upon Steele as a person who had a great acquaintance, and who was

fit and able to promote the interest of the theatre, did, for these reasons, and out of friendship and kindness to Steele, invite him to come into a share and benefit of the theatre, for which he seemed very thankful; and it was agreed he should apply for a new licence, which he obtained, and which was afterwards, by agreement with them, changed for a Patent. The application for the Patent was to be in Steele's name only, but upon the express trust that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth should have an equal share in it; and when Steele applied, he informed these defendants that he could not obtain a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor-General for having such a Patent without first having their consent, as they shared with him in the licence; and they thereupon gave their written consent to Steele, to whom a Patent was then granted. And some time afterwards Steele agreed to give them £1200 as a consideration for a fourth part of the scenes, clothes, &c., belonging to them, and did pay to each of them £400, as appears from the receipts. Then came the Articles Quadripartite of September 1721. By acting under the Letters Patent the defendants had received large sums, which had been entered in books and kept by Richard Castleman, their treasurer and cashier. Divers sums had been paid to great numbers of persons weekly and otherwise, as they were entitled to receive the same; and the accounts had been at sundry times stated and settled by the defendants and Steele, and Steele had received his share; on the 18th June 1723, in particular, he gave his receipt as follows: "Received of Richard Castleman £708. 8s. 2d., being so much due to me arising from the profits of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, I say received in full to this day, RICHARD STEELE." This was a stated account, and ought not to be ravelled into. From June 18, 1723, to June 25, 1725, divers other considerable sums had been received and paid on account of the theatre; and Steele, or persons lawfully authorised by him, had received his share thereof. On June 25, 1725, Richard Eadnell received of Castleman, by virtue of a letter of attorney executed to him by Steele, £52. 10s. 3d., as Eadnell's receipt showed, "I say received for Sir Richard Steel's use, ballance due for the year 1725, £471. 13s. 2d., being a fourth part of the clear profits," &c.; and these defendants

acknowledged that they had each of them received to their own use from the 18th June 1723, £1. 13s. 4d. for every day upon which a play had been acted, exclusive of Steele; this they claimed as a consideration for their acting and the extraordinary charge they were put to in respect thereof, for which they had no allowance in the said accounts; and they said that Steele never made any objection to the same to their knowledge till the filing of this bill. There had been from time to time paid to other actors more than £1. 13s. 4d. a day for acting. On the 18th June last the defendants left off acting under the Letters Patent, and so discontinued until the 4th September last, during which interval no profits did or could arise; and since the 4th September they had acted seventeen nights and no more up to the time of putting in this answer, and the clear profits of those seventeen nights could not at present be set forth, because tradesmen's bills were not sent in; but as soon as they could the defendants were ready to account for the same and to share all just allowances. They denied that they had deducted or claimed £10 a week for management or acting, or any sum other than as above mentioned, nor had they set apart or divided among themselves £20 a night or other sum on pretence of incidental charges, &c., exclusive of Steele, nor had they taken to their own use, exclusive of Steele, any part of such bounty money as His Majesty or any members of the Royal Family had given. And they said that Mrs. Oldfield, Mrs. Porter, and Mr. Mills had plays once in every year acted for their respective benefit, without any sums being deducted for the charge of the house, which was the best agreement the defendants could make with them; no other actors had the like privilege of having benefit plays without deduction for the charges of the house; and these defendants denied that they had had any benefit thereby, exclusive of Steele. And they said that, finding by long experience that the profits grew less towards the end of the spring and until June or July, the time of leaving off acting, £5 for every acting night was and had been kept back in order to make up the charges of the house in case the money received should not be sufficient for that purpose,—which often happened about the latter end of the season; but when they left off acting

the said sum of £5 was always brought to account, and what remained after the charges were paid was divided among these defendants and Steele equally. And these defendants said that they had great ground to expect that Steele would not, contrary to his own express agreement with them in writing, have sold, parted with, or encumbered his property in the Patent, clothes, scenes, and profits to any one without the defendants' consent in writing, especially because that to accommodate Steele and at his particular request (he being indebted to Edward Minshull, Esq., in the sum of £200, by whom the debt was assigned to Mr. Gery, and by him to Mr. Woolley) these defendants consented and agreed with Steele and Woolley that Castleman should pay to Woolley £200 a year out of Steele's share till the debt, with interest, should be paid. There was now £500 of this debt unpaid, and no interest had been paid. By Articles Quadripartite, dated 19th September 1721,¹ between Steele, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, reciting the aforesaid Articles, and also that the then Lord Chamberlain did some time since by his order direct that Steele should not be paid his fourth part, Steele did, for himself, his executors, &c., agree that if at any time the King, Lord Chamberlain, or other person authorised by the King should order that Steele be not paid his share, but should direct that Steele's share should be paid to any other person, then Steele's share should cease to be paid to him, and he should be debarred from demanding his share during the countinuance of such order; and so with any proportion of Steele's share. Steele had some time since been suspended, but the defendants denied that they ever took advantage thereof. They were strangers to the several demands made by persons named in the complainants' bill as creditors of Steele, and conceived that they were in nowise concerned therein. Castleman denied that he refused to let Steele see the books.

Richard Eadnell, of the Inner Temple, Gent., solicitor to Steele and Scurlock, made oath on the 27th October, that on Wednesday the 20th October he applied to Castleman, treasurer at the old playhouse in Drury Lane, on behalf of the complainants, and told him that he had occasion to look in the

¹ Page 266.

books of accounts kept for Steele and the defendants, and that he, the deponent, would wait on Castleman for that purpose when convenient. But Castleman said he could show no books or give any information without an order to do so from the other defendants. And on the 21st Eadnell applied to Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, but they utterly refused to give an order to Castleman, saying that no one should inspect the books or papers save Steele himself. Notice was subsequently given to the defendants' solicitor that the Court would be asked to make an order that these books could be examined by Steele or his solicitor;¹ and the order was duly granted. On the 2nd February 1726 Eadnell made oath that by virtue of this order he had looked over the books, and by them it appeared that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth had each received of Castleman £480. 10s. (*sic*) for clear profits from the beginning of that season till Saturday, 15th January last, and Castleman had received the like sum of £487. 10s. for the use of Steele, out of which he had paid £200 to Woolley, as arranged; but Castleman refused to pay Eadnell the remaining £287. 10s. without the consent of Wilks, Cibber, and Booth. Eadnell thereupon applied to them, and gave them a copy of a letter of attorney duly executed by Steele and Scurlock, empowering him to receive and give discharges for such money as should become due to them from the theatre; but Wilks, Cibber, and Booth absolutely refused to direct Castleman to pay Eadnell, unless Eadnell would give them discharges for £30 which they received weekly on pretence of acting exclusive of Steele, and which was now in dispute in that Court. Wilks, Cibber, and Booth had received this £10 apiece weekly over and above the £487. 10s. since the commencement of the winter season, and still intended to receive the same, as they informed Eadnell, notwithstanding the same was in dispute. And it appeared that over and above the £487. 10s. and the £30 weekly, the sum of £30 a week was kept in the hands of the treasurer under the name of contingencies, in case there should be occasion to advance any money at any time on account of any new performances or otherwise.²

¹ Chancery Affidavits (Registers), Mich. 1725, Nos. 101, 102.

² Chancery Affidavits (Registers), Hilary 1725[-6], No. 204.

The defendants having put in their answer, Steele's counsel obtained leave, on the 12th February, to amend the complainants' bill.¹ The answer of Wilks, Cibber, and Booth to this amended bill is dated 15th June 1726. The defendants said they never refused to disclose to Steele the expenses incurred for scenes, clothes, &c.; those charges were entered in books which Steele could examine, and which they had reason to believe he had often inspected. In accordance with the order of the Court of the 28th October last, Eadnell had often examined the books, and was never denied the same. They submitted, therefore, whether they need do more than refer to the books as regards the particular sums laid out in clothes, scenes, &c. They never denied that Steele might controvert the accounts, but they apprehended he had no reason to do so, for the allowances they demanded were reasonable, and were for the daily and extraordinary labour and expenses in acting their several parts not otherwise charged for. If they had not taken upon themselves to look after and manage the theatre, they and Steele, instead of being gainers, would have lost by it; and if Steele had been as active on his part in the management as they (which he ought to have been by their Agreement), there would have been an addition to the clear profits of the theatre, at least one fourth part.

In the meantime, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth had commenced a cross action against Steele.² In their bill, dated 11th January 1725-26, they said that Swiney and Collier had both constantly attended the business of the theatre, and much benefit had resulted therefrom; Collier solicited persons of quality, and drew audiences to the theatre. When Steele was invited to come into partnership, he faithfully promised to attend the meetings and consultations of the Company, and to write plays and other performances, and to use his utmost endeavour to support the interest thereof; and he did continue to attend the business of the Company until 28th January 1719-20, since which date he had altogether absented himself. Since then they

¹ Chancery Decrees, 1725B, 203.

² Chancery Proceedings, Reynardson, 1714-58, No. 2416; Chancery Decrees, 1727B, 224.

had each taken to their own use £1. 13s. 4d. a day, and Steele was so conscious that they deserved a much greater sum that he allowed the accounts wherein the same was charged. The scope of this cross bill, therefore, was that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth might be quieted in receiving the said £1. 13s. 4d. apiece exclusive of Steele, and might have such allowance as the Court should think reasonable for the expense they were at in clothes, periwigs, laces, and linen, and for their trouble in instructing the actors and overseeing artificers, &c., and might be indemnified in paying the £1200 and interest to Woolley, and be relieved.

Steele's answer to this bill was taken by commission by Alexander and Theophilus Scurlock on June 23, 1726. He denied that on entering into the partnership he promised to attend meetings or instruct young actors, not being qualified or required to appear as an actor; but he believed he did in general promise to write plays, and to promote the interests of the theatre, and this he had done to the utmost of his power, as the managers had often admitted; see, for example, Cibber's dedication to him of *Ximena*. *The Conscious Lovers* "brought more money to the House than any play was ever known to do;" and he was at that time preparing, as fast as his health would permit, a new Comedy, which, God willing, he hoped to finish by the next season, the plot of which play was formed for the reformation of the theatre, and restoring the credit and good sense of theatrical entertainments, which he was sadly sensible was never more wanted. He had done and was doing as much as his health would permit. He had entered into an agreement on the 4th September 1721, and then or shortly before, when accounting for his share during the time of the pretended suspension by the Lord Chamberlain, the other managers had urged that they had lost much in 1720 in connection with the South Sea scheme, and that Steele had not borne his share of the cost of scenes; and he then, out of pure friendship and good-will, forgave them £1200, which he believed was due to him. Steele insisted that he was not obliged to make Wilks, Cibber, and Booth any allowance for their managing and acting, as they were by the Articles obliged

to do their duty in consideration of the three fourth parts they received; but he denied that he had pretended they ought not to be allowed for clothes, &c., used on the stage, he being willing to allow his share out of the joint stock; and he believed they had frequently taken out of the joint stock for their own private clothes, which they brought to the joint account; all which Steele allowed without objection. He admitted he asked permission to assign his share, and, being refused, assigned his interest without such consent to Scurlock, and he hoped that what he did through the need of satisfying his creditors would not in equity be a breach of his covenant. He did not know of the deduction of £1. 13s. 4d. a day till the beginning of 1724[-5], when he brought his bill to be relieved against it; and he hoped that notwithstanding his signing the receipt of the 18th June 1723 he should be at liberty to call the managers to an account touching the said deduction.

The original cause was before the Court several times in August and October 1726.¹ Leave was given to Wilks, Cibber, and Booth to examine Castleman, a material witness for their case, and in no way concerned in point of interest in the matters in question; and upon application that Castleman should pay Steele £468. 4s., which was found to be his share of the clear profits for 1725, it was ordered, by consent, that Castleman should pay Steele £200, subject to the order which should be made upon the hearing of the cause. In December leave was given to Steele and Scurlock to examine Castleman as a witness for them. The "answer of William Woolley, Esqre., one of the Defendants to the Bill of Complaint" of Steele and Scurlock, was not put in until the 20th October 1726.² It contains nothing fresh of importance. Woolley said he had received £600 of the £900 due to him from Steele, and that £300 was still due, besides interest; and he urged that he was entitled to his £200 a year in preference to all other creditors mentioned in Steele's bill. On the 21st November, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth obtained leave to amend their bill in the case in which they were complainants; and

¹ Chancery Decrees, 1725B, 425; 1726B, 464, 2, 115.

² Chancery Proceedings, Sewell, A., 1714-58, No. 66.

Alexander and Theophilus Scurlock were again commissioned to take Steele's answer.¹ In this answer to the amended bill, which was not sworn until the 11th May 1727, Steele said it was true that he had declared that Cibber's zeal for the *Conscious Lovers* was an obliging favour and friendship to him; but he was referring to Cibber's care in instructing the actors, &c. Cibber did make several alterations in the play before it was acted, but to its disadvantage, and therefore he did not pay Cibber anything for his meddling. The piece ran eighteen nights, and brought £2536. 3s. 6d. to the house, but how much was paid for charges and how much to him Steele could not say, save £329. 5s. or thereabouts, which he received for three author's benefit nights. He could not set forth particular passages altered by Cibber; if he did, it might run him, in vindication of his own performance, into a sort of criticism very improper, as he apprehended, for the entertainment of that Honourable Court.

In October and November 1727 publication in the original cause was twice enlarged, upon the petition of the defendants, and on the 3rd February 1728, upon the original cause coming before the Court, the defendants' counsel alleged that the counter action was ready for hearing, but that as Steele lived at Carmarthen the plaintiffs in that action had not had time to serve him with a subpœna to hear judgment; and they said that both causes were proper to be heard together. Whereupon it was ordered that the original cause should stand over to the fourth day of causes after the term, and that judgment should then be pronounced in both causes.² The combined suits accordingly came to a hearing before Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, on Saturday night, the 17th February 1728, at the Rolls Chapel,³ when Cibber addressed the Court, acting

¹ Chancery Decrees, 1726B, 105; Chancery Proceedings, Reynardson, 1714-58, Nos. 2416.

² Chancery Decrees, 1726B, 461; 1727B, 8, 133.

³ Chancery Decrees, 1727B, 224; *St. James's Evening Post*, February 17-20, 1728; *The Weekly Journal* (Read's), and *The Country Journal; or, The Craftsman*, February 24, 1728. Cibber, with his usual inaccuracy, speaks of the case coming to a hearing in 1726, though, as Genest remarks, he mentions a theatrical coronation which, of course, was prompted by the coronation of George II. in 1727.

upon the advice of his counsel, who pointed out that he could speak better upon the question of the business of a manager than the most learned lawyer. Two of the counsel for Steele afterwards held the post of Lord Chancellor, and Cibber professes to have almost broken down with nervousness; but he succeeded, with the help of notes, in making a successful speech of an hour's length, which he has printed at length in the sixteenth chapter of his *Apology*. He maintained that Steele was as much obliged to do the duty and business of a manager as either Wilks, Booth, or Cibber; and the reason why he had ceased to take any part in the management was, that he was annoyed at his fellow-managers, who had often helped him when he was in want of money, but who found it necessary at last to peremptorily refuse to advance another shilling until it was due to him. After that Steele not only absented himself, but made an assignment of his share, without the consent of the others, in breach of their Agreement, thereby exposing them to the chance of trouble and inconvenience. His absence, too, had led to more than proportionate loss, because his rank, and figure in the world, and the ready access which he had at Court, had been of great service; that was, in fact, the very end and consideration of his share in the profits. Cibber proceeded to argue that he, Wilks, and Booth had been justified in charging £1. 13s. 4d. a day for their extraordinary labour, in Steele's absence, by graphically describing the multitude of duties and disagreeable tasks which fell to a manager's lot. Steele had not written plays for nothing, and though, said Cibber, in writing *The Conscious Lovers*, "he had more assistance from one of the managers than becomes me to enlarge upon, of which evidence has been given upon oath by several of our actors, yet, Sir, he was allowed the full and particular profits of that play as an author, which amounted to three hundred pounds, besides about three hundred more which he received as a joint-sharer of the general profits that arose from it." Cibber adds, in another place, that when they told Steele of the salary they meant to take for themselves in future, Steele only remarked that he had no reason to doubt of their doing him justice, and he never complained for nearly three

years; indeed it was not until his affairs were put into the hands of lawyers and trustees that his lawyer thought that here was a fair field for an action in Chancery, in which, whatever the result might be, his bill would be paid.

After hearing Cibber, and the counsel on both sides,—the proceedings lasted five hours,—the Master of the Rolls declared that he saw no good cause for breaking through the account dated 18th June 1723, or for varying the allowances of £1. 13s. 4d. which had been made at that time to each of the defendants, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth. He therefore ordered that the account dated the 18th June 1723 should stand, and that it should be referred to Mr. Bennett to take an account of the profits of the theatre from that time; the defendants were to produce before the said Master upon oath all books of account, &c., and to be examined as the Master should direct; and in taking the account the Master was to make to the defendants all just allowances. His Honour declared he conceived the allowance of £1 which had been already made to each of the defendants for management every night was a reasonable allowance, and that they ought to have this allowance continued to them until Steele should come into the management of the theatre; but the Master must determine what the defendants respectively deserved for their charges for wigs, lace, and linen, for which Steele admitted by his answer that an allowance should be made; and he was also to take an account of what was due to Woolley for principal and interest on his mortgage, and to tax Woolley's costs in this suit. The Master was also to ascertain what would be coming to Steele for his fourth part of the profits on the balance of the account, and from what was certified as due to Steele, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth should pay to Woolley what was reported due to him in the first place for principal, interest, and costs as aforesaid, and should pay the remainder to Scurlock for the uses mentioned in the deed of assignment from Steele to Scurlock, or to whomsoever Scurlock should authorise to receive the same; and Wilks, Cibber, and Booth were hereby indemnified for so doing; and they were to continue to pay Steele's fourth part of the growing profits, under such allowances as aforesaid, to Steele or to whomsoever he

should authorise to receive the same. And it was further ordered that Steele and Scurlock's bill against Castleman be dismissed out of the court; and that no costs be paid to either of the said parties, except to Woolley.

The Master's Report is dated July 10, 1728.¹ Mr. Bennett said that the plaintiffs' solicitors having allowed Wilks, Cibber, and Booth 13s. 4d. apiece for every day a play was acted, from the 18th June 1723, as the same had been allowed up to that time, he had taken an account of Steele's fourth part of the profits from the said 18th June to the present time, and found that that fourth part amounted to £2692. 3s. 3d., in discharge whereof he found that the said defendants had paid to Steele or order several sums, amounting to £1601. 3s. 3d., leaving due to Steele £1091. And the clerk in court for Woolley had admitted that Woolley had been already paid off and discharged all the principal and interest due to him on Steele's account; and the Master had already, by his Report of the 5th instant, taxed Woolley's bill of costs at £29. 2s. 10d., which sum he appointed Wilks, Cibber, and Booth to pay Woolley out of the said sum of £1091 in their hands, and the residue, £1061. 17s. 2d., they were to pay to Scurlock, as directed by the order of the 17th February. On the following day, July 11, 1728, upon motion made by the counsel for the defendants in the original cause, this Report and all contained therein was confirmed by order and decree of the Court.² And so, as Cibber says, "Sir Richard not being advised to appeal to the Lord Chancellor, both parties paid their own costs, and thought it their mutual interest to let this be the last of their law-suits."

¹ Masters' Reports, Easter, 1728; Steele, &c., v. Wilks, &c.

² Chancery Decrees, 1727B, 425.

III.

RETIREMENT AND DEATH. THE STEELE AND SCURLOCK FAMILIES.

1726-9. ÆT. 54-7.

THERE is very little to tell of the last three years of Steele's life. He lived chiefly at a farm-house called Tygwyn, or White House, pleasantly situated on rising ground round which the Towy flows, and which could be seen from the Parade at Carmarthen. The house, which faced south-east, looking down the vale of the Towy, was pulled down early in the present century, but a drawing of it will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1797,¹ and there is a view of the house and the valley and surrounding hills in Donovan's *Descriptive Excursions through South Wales*, published in 1805.² Malkin, writing in 1807, says that at that time there were still two or three very old people alive in Carmarthen who recollected Steele's person. We are told that Steele provided the gardens at Tygwyn with high walls and handsome walks; and there he is reported to have written *The Conscious Lovers*, which was first acted in his own house by a party of friends, many of whom came from London and other places for the occasion.³

By following the river from Carmarthen, or by taking the lower Llandilo road, Llangunnor Hill, commanding a beautiful view, will be reached. In Llangunnor Church, near the door,

¹ Vol. lxvii. 457.

² Vol. ii. 176.

³ *The Scenery, Antiquities, and Biography of South Wales*, by B. H. Malkin; second edition, 2 vols., 1807. Malkin's statement that after his visit to Scotland Steele spent the remainder of 1720 and 1721 at Tygwyn is incorrect. Steele was in London at the end of 1720 and during the first half of 1721; in Scotland in the autumn; and again in London in November.

is a marble monument to Steele, put up by a Mr. Williams, who published a book on "Primitive History" in 1789. This is the inscription:—

"This Stone was erected at the Instance of William Williams, of Ivy Tower, owner of Penddaylwn Vawr, in Llangunnor, part of the Estate there once belonging to the deservedly celebrated Sir Richard Steele, Knight, chief Author of the Essays named, Tatlers, Guardians, and Spectators. And he wrote the Christian Hero, the Englishman, and the Crisis; the Conscious Lover; and other Fine Plays. He represented several Places in Parliament. He was a Staunch and able Patriot. Finally an Incomparable Writer on Morality and Christianity. Hence the lines in a Poem called 'The Head of the Rock.'

Behold Llangunnor Leering o'er the Vale
 Pourtrays a Scene, to adorn Romantic Tale,
 But more than all the Beauties of the Site
 Its former owner gives the mind Delight.
 Is there a Heart that can't affection feel
 For Lands so Rich as once to Boast a Steele
 Who Warm for freedom, and with Virtue Fraught,
 His Country dearly lov'd and greatly taught,
 Whose morals pure the purest Stile Conveys,
 T' instruct his Britain to the last of Days?"

Merlin's Hill, about three miles from Carmarthen, commands a view of Llangunnor Hill, Golden Grove, and Grongar Hill. Golden Grove, then the seat of the Earl of Carbery, is famous because Jeremy Taylor lived there, and named one of his works after the place. Grongar Hill stands apart, on the other side of the Towy; at its foot is a house, Aberglasney, where John Dyer was born about 1700. Nothing is known of the family except that Diers were Mayors of Carmarthen in 1503 and 1514. John Dyer's father, Robert,¹ was a solicitor, but the young man's tastes led him to study painting, and with that object he travelled in Italy in 1724-25. In 1726 he returned to England, and in the same year his poems *Grongar Hill* and *A Country Walk* were printed in a volume of "Miscellaneous Poems and

¹ John Phillips (Vol. I. p. 169), who was connected with the Scurlocks by his own marriage and by that of his son, mentions in his Will property bought of the late Robert Dyer, Esq.

Translations by Several Hands. Publish'd by Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers," to which Steele, Dyer, and Benjamin Victor were all subscribers. Savage, Dyer, and Hill seem to have been intimate friends, for there are several poems in this volume addressed by the one to the other. After his return to England, Dyer was, as he wrote to the Rev. J. Duncombe, "an itinerant painter in his native country, South Wales, and in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, &c.;" but his name lives by his charming descriptions of the neighbourhood where he was born, in which both the spirit and style of Wordsworth were so wonderfully foreshadowed. It might have been surmised that he would not live so near Steele without forming a friendship with him; but it is pleasant to know positively, from the fact that Dyer was one of the witnesses to Steele's Will, that the two were on terms of intimacy.

Soon after he had finally settled at Tygwyn, Steele had a stroke of paralysis, accompanied by a partial loss of speech,¹ and he never completely recovered his mental powers. Before his death he was taken to a house in King Street, Carmarthen, afterwards known as the Ivy Bush Inn, which, according to some writers, belonged to him; and where, according to others, he boarded with his wife's cousin, Alexander Scurlock.² The following story, told by Victor, shows that Steele's kindness and love of giving pleasure to others remained to the end, though he was enfeebled both in mind and body. It is the last we see of him:—

"I was told he retained his cheerful sweetness of temper to the last, and would often be carried out on a summer's evening, where the country lads and lasses were assembled at their rural sports, and, with his pencil, give an order on his agent, the mercer, for a new gown to the best dancer.³ In the year 1727, when I was a levee-hunter, and making an interest with the

¹ *The London Journal*, September 13, 1729.

² Nichols' *Select Collection of Poems*, 1780, viii. 294; Spurrell's *Carmarthen*, 1879, p. 39; Donovan's *Descriptive Excursions through South Wales*, ii. 178. Nichols calls Alexander Scurlock Lady Steele's nephew.

³ "Sir Richard Steele was the best-natured creature in the world. Even in his worst state of health he seemed to desire nothing but to please and be pleased" (Dr. Young, in Spence's *Anecdotes*, 1820, pp. 334-5).

first Minister, that good old man hearing of it, enclosed me an open letter to Sir Robert Walpole that, I remember, began thus: 'If the recommendation of the most obliged man can be of any service to the bearer;'—Sir Robert received it with his usual politeness."¹

Other anecdotes are less probable, and much reliance cannot be placed upon them; how his piety continued even when he was in a state of childishness, when he would hear nothing read to him but from the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer;² and how plays were his chief amusements to the last, and the productions of his own pen his favourite performances. "In the waywardness of mental imbecility, however, he would frequently scold the players for imaginary faults, and affect to instruct them both in action and recitation."³ He could afford, we are told, to keep two men-servants to carry him about the town in his open chair, but his chief pleasure lay in observing the amusements of a party of boys which he would assemble together.⁴

In July 1727 Steele made his Will,⁵ by which he appointed Arthur Bevan, Esq.,⁶ to be his executor and trustee for his daughters, to whom he left whatever property might remain after the payment of his debts and certain legacies. The Will was proved on the 17th February 1731[-2], by his daughter Elizabeth, Mary Steele having died in 1730.

In the name of God, Amen. I S^r Richard Steele of Llangunnor in the County of Carmarthen Knight, being weak in body but of sound mind and memory (thanks be given to Almighty God) do this

¹ *Original Letters*, &c., i. 330.

² *Addisoniana*, i. 57.

³ *A Second Walk through Wales*, by the Rev. Richard Warner, 1799, p. 358.

⁴ Donovan's *Descriptive Excursions through South Wales*, ii. 176-7.

⁵ Prerog. Court Cant. 55 Bedford.

⁶ Arthur Bevan was elected M.P. for Carmarthen in 1727, and died in 1742. His widow, famed for her charity, was a Miss Bridget Vaughan, of Deryllysg, Merthyr. Arthur Bevan, who was buried at Laugharne, was probably the son of Theophilus Bevan, alderman of Carmarthen, who died in 1701, aged 72, and of his wife Elizabeth, who died in 1719, aged 67 (Spurrell's *Carmarthen*, 64, 87, 121, 175, 179, 180, 195, 200, 204; *The Antiquities of Laugharne*, &c., by Mary Curtis, p. 146; Sir T. Phillipps's *Pedigrees of Carmarthenshire*, &c., 1859, p. 17).

fourteenth day of July in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George II, by the grace, &c, make publish and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following, that is to say In the first place I commend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator, who gave it me; and my body to the earth from whence it came in hopes of a joyful resurrection through the merits of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And as for that worldly estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless and bestow upon me, I dispose thereof as followeth. Item I will and direct that my debts that I shall owe at my decease may be satisfied and paid, and that the expenses of my funeral (which I desire may be decent but not expensive) may in the next place be discharged by my executor hereafter named. Item I give to Elizabeth¹ the wife of William Aynston of the parish of Ameley in the County of Hereford the sum of one hundred pounds. Item I give to Hester Scurlock² of the town and County Burrough of Carmarthen widow the sum of twenty pounds. Item, I give to David Scurlock, eldest son of the said Hester Scurlock the sum of twenty pounds. Item, I give to Alexander Scurlock³ second son of Hester Scurlock the sum

¹ Steele's daughter.

² Widow of John Scurlock, Lady Steele's uncle.

³ Steele was not very sure about Alexander, or "Sandy," Scurlock, of whom we have often heard before. In 1726 he wrote to his daughter Elizabeth:—

MY DEAREST CHILD

You were indiscreet to send Sandy here yesterday night. For He is a Gentleman I have some reason to know very well.

Give my most Humble Service to Mrs. Scurlock, and to Mrs. Bevans. There is no need of Bidding You be civill to all you See kind to Me, I am, Dear Girle,
your Dutyfull and Compassionate Father

RICHARD STEELE.

March 3^d 172⁸.

M^r Plaxton.

[Thus in the original; Steele was probably writing to Plaxton at the same time, and put his name here by inadvertence. The writing is shaky. The letter is endorsed by Lady Trevor, "My Father's."]

In his Will, dated 23rd November 1765, and proved 8th May 1770 (P.C.C. 207 Jenner), Alexander Scurlock said that whereas by his marriage settlement he had conveyed to trustees certain property for his wife Martha's use, if she survived him, until £500 be paid her—she paying the rent, and fulfilling all covenants in the lease granted by Lord Trevor, deceased, and Lady Elizabeth, his wife,—after her death he bequeathed it to his nephew and sole executor, David Scurlock, M.A., who was to pay the £500, and the wife to give up all claims. Among other bequests, he gave £100 to Elizabeth Lady Trevor, to buy a ring or whatever she thought proper; to his niece Newland, £50; to his niece Wilmot, £20 [see pedigree, vol. i. p. 172]; to the poor of Carmarthen, £5; to George Bevan, Esq., son of William Bevan, Esq., late of Glasorin, deceased,

of twenty pounds. Item, I give to Griffith Scurlock¹ third son of Hester Scurlock twenty pounds. Item, I give to Theophilus Scurlock² fourth son of Hester Scurlock the sum of twenty pounds. Item I give to Elizabeth Bevan daughter of Hester Scurlock the sum of twenty pounds. Item, I give to Martha Stilliock and Mary Stilliock, both of the parish of S^t Martin in the Fields in the County of Middlesex the sum of twenty pounds a piece. Item, all the rest of my goods and chattels and personal estate whatsoever and where-soever I shall be possessed of or intituled unto at the time of my death I give to my dear dutiful and well beloved daughters Elizabeth and Mary Steele and make my good and worthy friend Arthur Bevan of Laugharn in the County of Carmarthen Recorder of the Town and County Burrough of Carmarthen Esq. to be my executor, in trust for my said daughters Elizabeth and Mary Steele. And it is my wish that Arthur Bevan put out what money my said daughters Elizabeth and Mary Steele may have by virtue of this my will at the time of my decease after payment of my debts and the legacies herein by me bequeathed to the best advantage for their use, but so as not to be accountable for any bad debt or debts that had or have already been or hereafter shall be contracted by any person or persons by me empowered or to be empowered in the management of my affairs upon any account whatsoever: and that the said Arthur Bevan shall retain all his expenses and charges whatsoever in relation to the said trust, and the sum of ten guineas as a token of my love to him, and for his kindness in accepting this trust; and I hereby revoke all and every former and other will and wills by me made,

£100; and to his nephew David, the Bridge meadow and other property at Carmarthen. The long Will of Hester, or Esther, *first* wife of Alexander Scurlock, dated 1736, was proved at Carmarthen in 1737. By indenture of release Alexander had agreed to pay into the hands of Richard Lewis and Theophilus Scurlock, trustees, £400, to be paid by them to Esther Scurlock, exclusive of her husband, and then to Lettice Wolley, spinster, her sister, in exchange for the like sum made payable out of the messuages, &c., "Pruscion." By her Will, Esther discharged her dearly beloved husband of this sum, directing that it should be used for his own benefit.

¹ Griffin, or Griffith, Scurlock became Rector of Broughton Gifford, Wilts, by the cession of John Rogers in 1742 (or 1743); but in the same year James Sparrow was appointed Rector, upon the death of Griffin Scurlock (*Wiltshire Archeological and Natural History Magazine*, vi. 55; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1743, pp. 52, 275.

² By his Will dated 1738, and proved in 1739 at Carmarthen, Theophilus Scurlock left his property, (with the exception of £20 to his cousin, Marmaduke Williams), to his executors, his beloved brother, Alexander Scurlock, and his nephew, William Bevan of Glasfryn, Co. Carmarthen, Esq.

and do publish and declare this to be and contain my last will and testament. In witness whereof, &c.

Witnesses, Henry Vaughan,¹ John Dyer,² & W^m Ashton.

There were several actions against Steele in the Court of Exchequer between 1727 and 1729, but the information given about them is slight.³ In Michaelmas term, 1727, Robert Barker⁴ brought an action to recover a debt of £650. Steele was given until the 28th November to verify the pleas, but in the end judgment was entered against him on the 18th January 1728. In Easter term, 1728, John Devoyhoe, administrator of the goods of Paul Dawson,⁴ deceased (not administered by Catherine Dawson, widow), brought two actions against Steele, and on the 3rd June Steele acknowledged that the plaintiff had sustained damages, besides costs, to the amount, in the one case, of £80, and in the other of £160. Judgment was signed on the 8th June, but in each case execution was stayed until Michaelmas. Finally, in Hilary term, 1729, in an action in which Charles Gery⁵ was the plaintiff, Steele acknowledged, on the 23rd January, that Gery had sustained damages, the amount of which is not given, and judgment was pronounced on the 19th April; but a stay of execution was granted until the first day of the following Easter term.

During these last years Steele was alluded to from time to time in the newspapers,⁶ but he was practically like one who had passed away from the world. In Mist's *Weekly Journal* for January 20, 1728, however, in the course of an attack on Cibber and Booth for bringing the stage into contempt, a writer said that it was hoped that Cibber might after all be brought to account, "for there is a report that Sir R[ichard]

¹ A Henry Vaughan, of Plasgwyn, was Mayor of Carmarthen in 1700.

² The poet.

³ Exchequer Pleas Order Books, Mich. 1 Geo. II.; Easter 1 Geo. II. (bis); Hil. 2 Geo. II.

⁴ Pages 298-301. In Trinity term, 1725, Barker had brought an action against Steele in the Court of Common Pleas for a debt of £500, and £50 costs (Index to C. P. Judgment Rolls). This is probably part of the debt of £650 which Barker was seeking to recover in 1727; but the details of the Common Pleas action have been lost.

⁵ Page 309.

⁶ E.g., *Mist's Weekly Journal*, November 12, 1726; May 13, 1727.

intends to take him down from his altitudes; that he will himself endeavour to bring the stage to its former credit, and ease the town of this continual tax of double prices, which will be a joyful hearing to all true lovers of their country, and of this polite diversion." In the same article it is said that Cibber gained his supremacy by taking advantage of Steele's natural indolence, and willingness to be eased at any time of the trouble of business. Cibber's designs were favoured by the fact that Steele, "having a little estate in Wales, used to go and pass a great part of his time there amongst his relations." In the Preface to a poem called *The Judgment of Hercules*, published in 1727 by Joseph Mitchell, who was patronised by Walpole, and consequently called Sir Robert Walpole's poet, Steele was alluded to in lines which at any rate were written in a kindly spirit:¹—

"Ne'er may the Sage a Splendid Shilling want;
Nor sigh for Coach or Chariot, Chaise or Chair,
Or gentle pad, to bear his gouty limbs,
Unhurt, as he Llangunnor Fields, in quest
Of air untainted, traverses sedate,
Health to regain! O may his useful life
Softly decay, and happily expire;
Leaving behind, among lamenting crowds,
A name and an example, ever dear,
And deathless as his Lucubrations famed!"

In March 1728 the Rev. William Asplin, Vicar of Banbury, dedicated to Steele his *Alkibla, a Disquisition upon Worshipping toward the East*. He had, he said, been accepted as an humble correspondent when Bickerstaff presided in the chair of wit; and now it was a melancholy reflection that the only person who had introduced him to the world in print was himself retired. He begged, therefore, though it was rude to intrude, to be suffered to approach Steele's recess with the reverence due to the Genius of our Isles, and to make this small oblation of gratitude to the immortal *manes* of the Spectator.²

¹ Mitchell's *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1729, i. 85.

² This Dedication was noticed in *The Kibla*, a reply to *Alkibla*, by the Rev.

One of the last printed references to Steele before his death was in a lengthy Introduction prefixed to a little-known edition of the *Spectator*, in eight octavo volumes, published in Dublin in 1728. At the conclusion the writer spoke with great appreciation of Steele, who was then living in calm retirement, waiting for death. He was able to look back upon his life's work with nothing but satisfaction. His friend Addison was a saint who had already reached his rest.

The last letter that we have of Steele's was written in July 1728, to his younger daughter, who seems to have been staying at Bristol, where she died two years later. She was evidently already ill, and being treated by a Dr. Lane.

MY DEAR DEAR MOLLY

I write to you because Mr. Duke is going to Bristol; I desire Youle Give my Service to Dr. Lane and remember, Dear Molly,

Y^r Ever Loving and Affectionate Father

RICHARD STEELE.

July 22^d, 1728.

We are here in great Joy because my Mare has brought a Fole a male one after 11 month's time.

Mary wrote about the same time to her sister Elizabeth, saying that she was much better, and designed to go to Bath for a week; she hoped it would not be many before they met. She sent her duty to her father, and asked her sister to tell him that there was a great deal of company at Bristol, but few she thought agreeable. Dr. Lane had just come to see her; she remained Elizabeth's affectionate sister till death.

Steele died on the 1st September 1729, at about ten at night,¹ in King Street, Carmarthen, in his fifty-eighth

John Andrews, who said he was disappointed at not finding in Mr. Asplin's book such reasoning or rhetoric as might have been expected in a newly discovered correspondent of the immortal *Spectator*.

¹ *Weekly Medley*, September 13, 1729. His death was announced in most of the papers for September 13; and the *Craftsman* for September 6 had stated that he was lying dangerously ill at his "seat" in Carmarthen. Hearne mentioned Steele depreciatingly in his *Diary* (vol. cxxiv. p. 97).

year. It is possible, as Mr. Spurrell has suggested, that the immediate cause of death was some disease then raging in the town, but of this there is no positive evidence. We know, however, that the number of deaths, which had been 69 in 1728, and was 88 in 1730, rose to 185 in 1729, and that of this number no less than 45 died in September.¹ Steele was buried on the 4th September, privately, at his own request,² in the vault of the Scurlocks in St. Peter's Church, close to the chancel door. The broken flagstone inscribed "Jonathan Scurlock, of Blaencorse, 1683; & John his brother, 1715," lies under the encaustic tiles. No inscription marked the place of Steele's interment, and, indeed, it was traditionally reported that he wished that no such record should be made. At length, however, in August 1876, a brass mural tablet, mounted on a slab of white marble, was erected over his burial-place by the late Mr. Valentine Davis, with the following inscription :

Tatler April 12, 1709. Spectator. Guardian.

SIR RICHARD STEELE, KNIGHT,

Author, Essayist,

First Chief Promoter of the Periodical Press of
England.

Born in Dublin, March 12, 1671.

Buried in this church and below this tablet.

Extract from the Register of Burials, 1729 :—

'Sep. 4. S^r Richard Steel.'

(Certified) Latimer M. Jones, Vicar.

Immediately after Steele's death it was currently reported that a stately monument would be erected to his memory in

¹ Spurrell's *Carmarthen*, pp. 15, 39.

² *Monthly Chronicle*, September 1729, p. 187; *The Craftsman*, September 20, 1729. In Donovan's *South Wales*, 1805, ii. 177-8, a very different account is given;—how Steele's remains were (it was traditionally well known) conveyed with great pomp to the church. "To increase the solemn grandeur of the ceremony, it was performed at night, and no less than four-and-twenty attendants, each carrying a bunch of lighted torches, formed part of the retinue in the funeral parade." This story is entirely uncorroborated.

Westminster Abbey, at the expense of Sir Robert Walpole; ¹ and on the 30th September Mr. Joseph Mitchell published, without any name on the title-page, a folio poem called *The Monument*: "Or, the Muse's motion to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, . . . upon occasion of the Death of Sir Richard Steele, Knt.," ² in which he wrote, addressing Walpole:—

"Methinks, already given is thy command
And artful Gibbs applies the skilful hand!
What mimick features does the marble show!
With life and beauty how the figures glow!

¹ *The Craftsman* and *The British Journal*, September 20, 1729. The following epitaph, proposed in 1730, was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1806, p. 606:—

H. S. E.

RICARDUS STEELE, Eq. Aurat. &c.

Busta vides veneranda Viri cui plurima debes,
Hæres Hospes? abi, et scripta diserta lege:
Quæ dubium prosintve magis placentve; sed illis
Constat nil alias par in utroque dari.
Sic lepidus garrit; sic spectat sedulus; acer
Sic vigilat Custos; sic et amare docet;
Ut planè nil defuerit, nisi corde carenti,
Quo mens, res, corpus, famaue salva foret.

The Craftsman for September 27, 1729, said: "I will conclude with a passage or two out of the late Sir Richard Steele's political writings, which I choose to do at this time, because I find that some persons, who not only neglected him but used him infamously when living, are now endeavouring to do themselves honour and have their former treatment forgotten, by raising monuments to his memory. . . . Sir Richard Steele is now dead, and had the happiness to die before the laws of his Country." In reply to protests from Whig papers, the *Craftsman* (November 15) stated that the remarks just quoted were intended to be taken in a metaphorical sense, and applied to all who ill-treated Steele while living, and extolled him when dead; though it would not be difficult to justify the words even if they were applied to one particular gentleman who, it was understood, designed to erect a monument to Steele's memory.

² *Monthly Chronicle*, September 1729, p. 206. A copy of Mitchell's poem is in the Bodleian Library. Earlier in the year Mitchell had published *Poems on Several Occasions*. In *Two Volumes*, the first dedicated to Lord Stair, the second to Sir R. Walpole; Steele was a subscriber for two large-paper copies. There are two pieces addressed to Steele, who apparently introduced Mitchell to Walpole (i. 313; ii. 225). A second edition of these Poems was printed in 1732. Victor, too, wrote a poem, "On the Death of Sir Richard Steele, Inscribed to Sir Robert Walpole" (*Original Letters*, &c., iii. 28-30).

Breathes not that image? Seems it not to speak?
 Does not this busto give the Tatler back?
 By Walpole's bounty, Bickerstaff revives,
 Refines our language; and reforms our lives.
 Then be this my boast,
 (So shall my name be not entirely lost)
 Mitchell to Walpole first this motion made,
 And first to Steele poetic honours paid."

Three years later, in a poem called "The Royal Hermitage," Mitchell described the busts to famous men erected by Queen Caroline at Richmond, and expressed a wish that the Hermitage could admit four more—Bacon, Milton, Shaftesbury, and Steele. Neither at Richmond nor in Westminster Abbey, however, was a monument ever erected to Steele.

Mary Steele did not long survive her father, for she died at Bristol on the 18th April 1730, of a lingering consumption.¹ Her elder sister, Elizabeth, who seems to have inherited something of her mother's beauty and her father's thriftlessness, had several lovers. In December 1724, when she was not yet sixteen, Edward Morgan, perhaps a son of the Nathaniel Morgan who was Mayor in 1711,² asked permission to make his addresses to her; but Steele replied, in an excellent letter, that his daughter was a girl of good sense, and that when she heard of Mr. Morgan's civility for her, she said, with a great deal of calmness and ease, that she was very young, and very well contented to wait her time and choice under her father's care, and that nothing could give her greater offence than such an application. Steele accordingly earnestly forbade the suit, but desired his correspondent to give his service to his father. Mr. Morgan, however, wrote again, and Steele had a second time to request him to lay aside all thoughts of the kind; "for the child is young and discreet, and utterly declares against admitting your courtship." A few months later the first of several false reports of her marriage appeared in the *Historical Register*: "1725, May 6. Mr. Lloyd, eldest son of ——— Lloyd of Kithive, in Pembrokeshire, Esq., marry'd to Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Steele,

¹ Boyer's *Political State*, and *The Monthly Chronicle*, April 1730.

² See pedigree, vol. i. p. 172.

Knt.”¹ Suitors grew in number after Steele’s death, several of them, like Mr. Lloyd, being cousins more or less remote. One of these was Essex McMeyricke, several of whose letters, rather inflated in style, have survived. There was also a Mr. Harcourt, mentioned in the *Daily Post* for April 27, 1730: “A marriage is concluded between Mr. Harcourt, a Carmarthenshire gentleman, and the eldest daughter of the late Sir Richard Steele, Knt.” In an undated letter to some friend, Elizabeth Steele wrote fully of the reasons why she could not marry “Cousin Harcourt.”

SIR

My time and my thoughts are so employ’d about my Poor Sister (who grows worse every day) that I cou’d not sooner acknowledge the favour of your Obliging Letters: I have a true Sense of what I owe You for the trouble you take in our Affairs: I am glad you have brought the Players² to such good terms, and I sincerely wish it may ever be as much in my Power as I’m sure it will always be in my Inclination to shew my gratitude to You for the many favours and Civilities you have confer’d on my Sister & Self.

Your kind enquiry relating to Danypark Estate is another instance of Your Friendship to me, but you’ll allow me the liberty to say that I think the Satisfaction given you so deficient and so little to the purpose, that from this moment, I take a resolution to put an absolute Stop to that Affair. Mr. George Harcourt’s pretending to send to his Uncle for the particulars of an Estate to be settled upon him, which I was allways made to beleive was actually to be his by an Old intaile and consequently out of his Uncles Power to give from him, is so inconsistent with the account which my or rather, his Friends gave me of it, that I can no way Account for it; there have been so many Impositions in regard to Mr. Lewis Harcourts Estate detected, that I never repented any thing more than that I was persuaded to enter at first into any treaty with Mr. George Harcourt; the first representations to me were, that all Mr. Lewis

¹ A writer, “S. R.,” in the *Athenæum* of January 5, 1856, endeavoured to show that Miss Steele really married Mr. Lloyd, but he did not bring forward any arguments which make it necessary to notice the letter at length.

² Sir Richard Steele’s remaining interest in Drury Lane Theatre became, after his death, the joint property of his two daughters, and, on the death of the younger of them, devolved to Elizabeth, the elder, who sold it for no inconsiderable sum [it was £1200. See *Biog. Brit.*, p. 3830]. But, as if a fatality attended the business, the attorney who received the money for her ran away with the whole, and she never received a penny. (Nichols.)

Harcourts Estate was intailed on his Nephew, in some time after I was informed there was a Mortgage of twelve Hundred Pounds upon his Estate, which was a plain discovery that part of his Estate was in his own Power, and I beleive you are convinc'd that two hundred pound a Year of his Estate is settled on his Daughters. Now these are impositions of so gross and shocking a Nature that they are hardly to be parallel'd. When Mr. Harcourt was introduc'd to me, by Mrs. Bevan, Mrs. Lloyd of Danyralt, and Mr. Sandy (all three my nearest relations) they told me he had an Estate of Eight hundred pounds a Year, that he had a place of Seven hundred pounds a Year, which, with a chance of Money from his Aunt, was such a fortune as I cou'd not disapprove; the Uncommon Merit of the Gentleman was their dayly theme, their perpetual and Importunate Sollicitations were the first Motives that induc'd me to think of it; Convinc'd by their reasoning that I might probably be happy in a change of my Condition so much to my advantage I Submitted and prefer'd their Judgement to my own Inclination, and things went on accordingly, when to my great Surprize I found 'em very much mistaken in regard to his fortune; these things of themselves are very good and Sufficient reasons for breaking off with Mr. Harcourt, but the Melancholy Circumstance I have to add, is, that, notwithstanding my endeavours I find it is not in my power to have an Affection for the Gentleman, which a Woman ought to have for the Person She makes choice off for the Companion of her Life. I did all I cou'd to make him Sencible of this when last in the Countrey. I have an Aversion to the thoughts of it which I can never overcome. It does not proceed from any want of Merit in him; I think him very deserving, but we can't Command our Affections and I flatter my Self that you who are my Friend can't find fault with me; for if the regard is not mutual in Marriage the Consequence must be Miserable. I heartily wish Cousin Harcourt all the happiness y^e State can afford in a better Choice; I am apprehensive that my friends at Carmarthen especially Mrs. Bevan & Mr. Sandy will be irreconcilable on this Occasion. It is very much my Inclination to live with my relations for nobody can have a greater tenderness for 'em than I have, & I propose great Satisfaction in continuing with them, but if they wont receive me I must be content. I hope I am not so destitute of Friends as to despair of a reception elsewhere.

Mr. Harcourt fought a duel with Mr. James Phillips about Miss Steele, who afterwards was often heard to say, "Two fools

fought a battle for me at Lansdown, for which reason I would marry neither of them ;” yet the papers stated that Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, “a lady of £10,000 fortune,” “for whom a duel was lately fought at the Bath,” was there married on May 26, 1731, to James Phillips, Esq., of Penty Park, Pembrokeshire.¹ One versifier said of Miss Steele’s thousand admirers :—

“’Tis fit the gentle Tribe shou’d feel
The Fair One’s utmost Slight ;
For why shou’d They pretend to Steel
Who have not Hearts to fight !”²

Mr. James Phillips succeeded to the property at Pentypark upon the death of his father, James, in November 1730. The grandfather, John, who died only a few months before, left by his Will £300 for his grandson James ; “but in case he shall happen to marry Mrs. Elizabeth Steel daughter of Sir Richard Steel Knight deceased, I give him instead of the said £300 the sum of £2000 to be paid him within two years of my decease.”³ James Phillips, however, was not successful, though he spared no pains in impressing upon “Dear Dear for ever Dear Miss Steel,” in letters and verses, how entirely he was her “faithful slave and martyr.”⁴ An acceptable suitor ultimately presented himself in the person of the Honourable John Trevor, at that time a Welsh judge, thirty-six years of age, but who became the third Lord Trevor of Bromham, Bedfordshire, upon the death of his brother in 1753.⁵

¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, i. 222 ; *Grub Street Journal*, June 3, 1731.

² Ballard MSS. (Bodleian), vol. xxix., f. 99.

³ P.C.C. 313 Auber. John Phillips gave to his son James the benefit of the lease he had from Sir Richard Steele, Knight, and his lady, deceased, of the meadow Mowa Puill. To his granddaughter, Mary Lloyd, he left 20s., as a mark of her undutifulness in marrying without the consent of her parents. See pedigree, vol. i. p. 172, and vol. i. p. 169 note.

⁴ MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Wills.

⁵ *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 1836, &c., iii. 161-2, 167-8 ; Noble’s *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, 1787, ii. 111-120. Thomas, the first Baron Trevor, died in June 1730 (Will, P.C.C. 225 Auber) ; his mother, Ruth, was the fourth daughter of John Hampden. He was buried at Bromham, where there is a magnificent Renaissance monument to his memory. His son Thomas, the second Baron Trevor, was of a literary turn of mind, and left a small but fine library to Bromham Church.

On the 30th May 1732 he married Miss Steele, a young lady of twenty-three, of fine accomplishments and a very considerable fortune, as the papers said.¹ She thus became Lady Trevor; and as the daughter of Thomas, the second Lord Trevor, married—in the same month—Charles, Earl of Sunderland, who in the following year became Duke of Marlborough upon the death of his aunt Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, and daughter of the great Duke, Steele was connected through his daughter's marriage with the family of the general who had been his friend and hero.

Among those who wrote verses in celebration of Lady Trevor's marriage² was Mr. Robert Dyer. Robert Dyer was a clerk to the Secretary to the Commissioners for the Stamp Duties, and he died in September 1763. He wrote several poems, and in one of them called "The Carnation. To the Hon. Miss Grace Pelham. A Poem upon her marriage to the Hon. Lewis Watson, Esq.," published in 1753, he speaks of himself as old, and living in a little house at Knightsbridge, with a small garden. He was early taught to sing:

"Was taught by Addison and Steele,
The power of Poetry to feel."

¹ *Daily Post* and *Daily Courant*, May 31; *Craftsman* and *Universal Spectator*, June 3, 1732.

² An anonymous writer, after much praise of "the fair Eliza's" graces and charms, said:

"Happy the Nuptials where we find
True Merit wth Affection Joyn'd.
Honour and Fame and Ruddy Health,
Generous Hearts and Boundless Wealth,
Happy Pair to you are given
Every Blessing under Heaven."

Mr. Phillips, too, her former suitor, wrote verses "on the inimitable Miss Steele, now Lady Trevor,"

"On whom kind Nature has dispensed
The Mother's beauty, and the Father's sense."

In a letter written on February 7, 1731-32, before her marriage, to "Mrs. Steele at her house in New Bond Street near Piccadilly, London," a "Jos. Hill" regretted that he had not seen Miss Steele before she left Carmarthen, and sent some verses by a late scholar of his, only fifteen years old, "To the Memory of S^r Rich^d Steele," of which the last line was, "All the Father in y^e Daughter shines." (Mrs. Wills's MSS.)

It is clear that Robert Dyer was related to the greater poet, John Dyer—whose father's name was Robert—because by his Will,¹ dated March 1763, and proved in November, he left five guineas to Miss Kitty Dyer, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Dyer of Marylebone, only as a token of love and affection to her and her parents; and John Dyer, in a letter to John Duncombe, dated November 24, 1756, says that all his brothers were then dead except one, who was a clergyman at Marylebone, and who had a house full of children. By his Will, dated October 1757, and proved in March 1758, John Dyer left his books on architecture and antiquities to this brother Thomas, “rector of Bodhampton, Hampshire, and now residing at Marylebone.”

Robert Dyer's *Epistle humbly addressed to the Honourable Mrs. Elizabeth Trevor, daughter of the late Sir Richard Steele, upon her marriage with the Honourable John Trevor, Esq.*, is interesting in several ways. It will be seen that it corroborates Victor's account of the kindly interest Steele took in the sports of the young people at Carmarthen. It is evident that the writer was well acquainted with Steele's life in Wales, and this fact confirms the belief that Robert Dyer was a connection of John Dyer's family. In the Notice to the Reader, dated Stamp Office, Lincoln's Inn, July 17, 1732, Robert Dyer said that, as no greater writer had come forward, he had, without the knowledge of those addressed, ventured to publish his own lines, “to evidence the dear respect and high regard which he shall ever bear for the memory of his great friend and patron, Sir Richard Steele.”²

The poem opens with an expression of regret that Dyer could not treat the subject better; but Steele, the instructor and inspirer of his Muse, was gone.

¹ After paying some small legacies, Robert Dyer directed that his property should be divided into three parts, of which two were to go to the prisoners for debt on the common sides of the prisons of Newgate and the Fleet, and the third was to be given in charity at the discretion of his executors.

² It has been stated that Robert Dyer was reputed to be an illegitimate son of Steele; but there seems to be no older authority for this report than Noble's Continuation of Granger's Biographical Dictionary, vol. iii. (1806), where it is said that “a Mr. Richard [*sic*] Dyer was reputed an illegitimate son of the poet, and his person seemed to prove the affinity. He was, for years, a clerk in the Stamp Office, where Sir Richard had been a Commissioner.”

“Immortal Steele! why did the Fates deny
 Yet to withhold thee from thy kindred sky;
 Till with a parent’s hand, and parent’s voice,
 Thou might’st have blessed thy loved Eliza’s choice?

And, Oh, blest Fair! in whom are sweetly joined
 Thy mother’s beauty, and thy father’s mind;
 Permit his humble friend, with humble strain,
 To swell the number of the joyful train:
 Such was my title, while of him possessed,
 Indulged to share the counsels of his breast:
 How unperceived the fleeting hours would roll,
 While he, conversing, charmed the ear and soul!
 Ah me! How oft, in Maridunian¹ shades
 We viewed the sportive youths, and playful maids!
 ‘Thus lived they in the Golden Age,’ he cried,
 ‘Nor knew the mischiefs of a bargained bride.
 Thus glad was every green, and every grove,
 The blissful scenes of innocence and love!’
 There, when you sate among the sylvan train,
 Admired by all—the Goddess of the plain!
 When every swain gazed with a lover’s eyes,
 Ah! how would then the father’s fondness rise!

‘Since Heaven,’ said he, ‘thought fit to embitter life,
 And robbed me of a fond, endearing wife,’”

he had confined his thoughts to men and manners; but he could not but be anxious about his daughter’s future. If it were reserved for him to choose, Trevor would be her husband. And now Steele’s prayers were answered, and Trevor’s merit had pleaded a resistless claim. He brought both sense and virtue, to enoble blood. Carmarthen stands by the Towy, amid guardian hills, and there “Eliza and her favourite Fair, the blooming Lloyd,”² lived,

“In friendship close united, and allied
 In blood, in virtue, as in beauty’s pride.”

¹ “*Maridunum*, the ancient name given Carmarthen by Ptolemy.”

² “Mrs. Lloyd, of Dan-yr-Allt, Carmarthenshire.” Perhaps a near relative of the Mr. Lloyd who wished to marry Elizabeth Steele; but see page 331.

The fair Lloyd would no doubt soon marry; many loved her in her native groves, and she had stolen the hearts of the swains in London. Vernon,¹ who "Eliza's trembling hand to Trevor's joined," would not refuse to give her hand. Dyer prophesied that from the auspicious nuptials he was now celebrating would be born sages and patriots:—

"Another Trevor, and a second Steele:
Names precious in the rolls of British fame,
Which Albion well may boast, but Cambria² claim."

Steele was not destined to have descendants.³ Lady Trevor's first child was still-born; and the second, Diana Maria, born in 1744, who is reported to have been very beautiful, was an idiot, and died in 1778. It was thought that her idiocy was due to a fright which her mother had from a stag in Bromham Park previous to her birth. The girl uttered sounds much like those made by deer. The deer were soon afterwards removed to Blenheim.⁴ A few riddles in verse, and some letters inviting her to parties, or to meet the Princess at prayers, is all that has come down to us of Lady Trevor's.⁵ Her husband died at Bath in 1764, and from that time she

¹ "Bowater Vernon, Esq."

² "These two families are originally Welsh." That is, of course, Lady Trevor's mother was Welsh.

³ In November 1865, after the publication of Mr. Montgomery's *Life of Steele*, several letters on the subject appeared in the *Morning Herald*; and in the same paper for October 24, 1866, a letter was printed, dated Sydney, June 27, and signed "Richard Wm. Steele." The writer began: "Residing as I do at the Antipodes from England, you will easily understand the interest I take in reading anything respecting my family. We have ever cherished a fondness for the memory and works of Sir Richard Steele;" and he proceeded to say that the friend who took this letter to Swansea had promised to go to Llangunnor, to ascertain the state of the monument in the church. It was, of course, clear that this correspondent could not be a direct descendant of Steele's, but it seemed desirable to ascertain, if possible, whether he was in reality in any way a connection. Mr. Lambton, Secretary to the Post-Office of New South Wales, kindly had inquiry made of various persons of the name in Sydney and the neighbourhood, but unfortunately none of them knew anything of Mr. R. W. Steele. There is no one of that name mentioned in the Sydney Directories published shortly before and after 1866.

⁴ MSS. at Bedford, left by Mr. Goodhall, Vicar of Bromham; kindly communicated to me by the Rev. J. Brown, D.D., of Bedford.

⁵ Mrs. Wills's MSS.

generally lived at that place. Lord Trevor was buried in the family vault at Bromham on the 9th October. There is a rather handsome monument, in various coloured marbles, representing, in a deep frame, on dark ground, a lady in *alto relievo* sitting on a tomb with her left arm round an urn, while her right hand holds a wreath. Above is the crest, and underneath, the following inscription, on a piece of curved white marble: "In this Church¹ lie the remains of The Right Honourable John Lord Trevor, who died the 27th of September 1764 aged 69. In Gratitude Respect and Affection to whose memory Elizabeth Lady Trevor (his Widow) caused this monument to be erected." By his Will, dated 1758, and proved at London in October 1764, Lord Trevor left his worldly goods to his dear and beloved wife for ever, subject only to the payment of his debts; she was to be sole executrix, and guardian of their daughter, Diana.² For some years before her death Diana Trevor lived at Foxcote, a small village seven miles south of Bath, and the burial of "The Hon^{ble} Dianna Trevor" is recorded as having taken place there on the 23rd January 1778.³ Probably she was boarded with some family in the neighbourhood because the place was secluded, and at the same time within easy reach of friends from Bath. Nichols says that Lady Trevor wished to be buried near her daughter, but this desire was not attended to.

Lady Trevor found a companion in Mrs. Thomas, only daughter of Mrs. Aynston, Steele's natural daughter. Mrs. Ayn-

¹ The inscription originally began, "Near this place;" and the Rev. C. J. E. Smith, of Bromham, to whom I am indebted for these facts, tells me that the alteration was made when the monument was moved, presumably when the church was repaired a few years ago.

² P.C.C. 407 Simpson. A note opposite this Will says that on October 29, 1807, administration of the goods of John Lord Trevor, left unadministered by Lady Elizabeth Trevor, widow, was granted to Alexander Forbes Gaskell, of Gray's Inn, Gent., acting for Robert Trevor, of Flintwick, Co. Bedford, Esq.

³ The Rev. A. O. Elwell, of Foxcote, who has kindly given me this information, thinks it not improbable that Miss Trevor was buried under the east wall of the chancel, as there is a vault or walled grave there, the only one until recently; the grave has a tombstone over it, but there is no trace of an inscription. The present farm-house and the Rectory, both very old, are the only houses in this small parish in which it seems probable Miss Trevor would be placed.

ston, who seems to have been accomplished and well educated, died at Lady Trevor's house in London during one of the visits which she made there every year; but the friendship which Lord and Lady Trevor felt for Mrs. Aynston's daughter only grew more intimate, and Lady Trevor provided for the education of Mrs. Thomas's two sons. Towards the end of her life Lady Trevor resolved to leave to Mrs. Thomas, who had been her companion forty years, all that remained in her hands; and some months before her death she gave the bulk of Steele's letters to Mrs. Thomas's elder son (from whom Nichols purchased them), with directions respecting her other effects, and her funeral; and she proposed to make a Will, but put off executing it, until a paralytic stroke rendered her unable to carry out her designs. Nichols saw a Will which was prepared in 1772, but never executed, by which, after leaving an annuity of £100 to Mrs. Thomas, and one of £80 to Mrs. Hooper (who had been wet-nurse and afterwards attendant on Miss Trevor), Lady Trevor gave the rest of her property to her daughter, and the reversion of it to her nearest relation, the Rev. David Scurlock. Like her father, she was often in money difficulties, and the greater part of her landed property was sold in 1772. She died on the 1st January 1782, and was buried at Walcot, Bath, where Anstey and Madam D'Arblay (Frances Burney) are buried. In May an administration of Lady Trevor's property was granted to the Rev. David Scurlock, cousin-german once removed and next-of-kin, and in the same month her effects, books, &c., were sold at her house in the Circus, Bath.¹

What remains to be said of the Scurlocks can be told briefly. Of Lady Steele's cousins, children of John Scurlock, Jonathan died in 1722,² Theophilus in 1739, Griffith in 1743,

¹ A copy of the Catalogue of the sale on the 14th May and four following days is preserved in Add. MSS. 5145B.: "And on the 21st instant and following days, will be sold by auction her Ladyship's valuable Library of Books, consisting of upwards of 1000 Volumes, . . . collected by herself and her late father, Sir Richard Steele." Several of these books, with Elizabeth Steele's autograph, are now in my possession.

² Letters of administration were granted on August 22, 1722, to David Scurlock, of St. James's, Westminster, clerk, brother of Jonathan Scurlock, late of All Hallows, Barking, London, bachelor, Hester Scurlock, widow, his mother, first renouncing.

and Alexander in 1770. David¹ alone had children. He was, we have seen, trustee to Steele's affairs during the closing years of Steele's life. In 1725 he was Vicar of Waltham St. Lawrence, Berks, in 1727 of Pottern, Wilts, and in 1762 of Langley Marish, Bucks. He published several political sermons, one of which, upon the Excise scheme of 1733, preached at St. Paul's, called forth various replies. He died in 1768, leaving several children, whose names are fully set forth in the pedigree in the first volume of this book.² The only surviving son, David,³ was a clergyman and a magistrate for Buckinghamshire; it was he who administered to Lady Trevor's property. He died in May 1793, and was buried at Langley, where his widow caused a mural tablet to be erected to his memory.⁴ The widow lived until March 1829, when she died at Pimlico. In 1796, when her son was articulated, she was described as of Chelsea; in 1809 Nichols presented to her a copy of Steele's

¹ Born about 1694; matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, 27th October 1710, aged 16; B.A., 27th May 1714; M.A., 10th May 1717. There is a seal to his Will. His son, David, said that Steele and Addison rented of his father Lovehill Farm, Langley, and that there many of the *Spectators*, &c., were written. But the Rev. David Scurlock had no connection with Langley until long after Steele and Addison had ceased to write, and, indeed, he was only a boy when the periodical essays appeared.

² From his Will, dated 26th September 1762 (P.C.C. 360 Secker), we learn that the Rev. David Scurlock (senior) had copyhold and leasehold estates. He left to his daughter Wilhelmina Charlotta the freehold estate at Clerkenwell given in fee to her husband as her marriage portion, and also left her a legacy of £10. He left £150 to her son, Richard Scurlock Wilmot, when he was 21; £150 to her daughter lately born, named Charlotta Cassandra, when 21; £200 to his daughter, Anna Maria Newland; £150 to her son, David Scurlock Newland, when 21, the interest going towards his education; and the same to her daughter. All the above sums were to be paid out of the estates, and the residue was to go to the sole executor, his son, David Scurlock, A.M., of Blaencorse, Co. Carmarthen. This Will was proved 5th September 1768. The Rev. Richard Wilmot, who married Wilhelmina Charlotta Scurlock in 1760, was Vicar of Langley (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xxx. 249).

³ Born about 1737; matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, 22nd March 1755, aged 18; B.A., 3rd November 1758; M.A., 8th June 1761. A highly laudatory notice appeared, upon his death, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1793, Pt. I. 483. In the same magazine for 1789, Pt. II. 1214, is a notice of the widow of Alexander Scurlock. At her death a valuable property devolved upon her nephew David. In 1790 the Rev. David Scurlock applied to Mr. Grenville for the living of Stoke (Add. MS. 28066, f. 101); and in 1792 he published a sermon on the influence of religion in civil government.

⁴ Lipscomb's *Buckingham*, iv. 540.

“Correspondence,” now in Mrs. Wills’s possession. None of the four children of the Rev. David Scurlock married, and with them this branch, at any rate, of the family died out.¹ The only son, John Trevor Scurlock, born about 1779–80, was educated at Eton, and was admitted a Proctor of the Arches, Easter, 1803. He died in July 1863, at Laugharne, where he was staying temporarily, and was buried at Brompton Cemetery, where his sisters had been previously buried. Elizabeth-Charlotta, born about 1776–7, died unmarried in December 1862; Harriet, born 1777–8, died in November 1816;² and Louisa, born about 1778–9, died in November 1861. I cannot conclude better than by quoting some notes upon the family, doubtless written by John Trevor Scurlock, which will supplement what has been already said :³—

Our grandfather had six sons and two daughters. John, the eldest, inherited his father’s genius; he was a proficient Greek scholar at nine, and was sent to Westminster School; but he died of small-pox, so fateful in our father’s family, and is buried in Westminster Abbey, in the same vault with Dame Mary Steele. Trevor, the second, died of the same malady. Jonathan is no more, but it is not said what he died of. Another son was born, and christened John, but he died in infancy. Then came another, Griffith, who also died. Our father was the only survivor of the six sons, and our Aunts, Charlotte, afterwards Mrs. Wilmot, and Maria, married to David Newland, Esq., both since dead. After the death of John, our grandfather’s first-born, he was never the same, but became morose and unsocial; burying himself at Lovehill, writing satires against the bishops, one of whom had offended his ambition; he published one satire, “The Bench of Comedians,” which gave such offence that he never became a dean. In his sixty-seventh year he set off on an expedition of love-making, and offered himself to the blooming widow of Sir Watkin W. Wynne, but he was rejected, the lady preferring a youthful curate in her neighbourhood. This further soured his temper. My Aunt Wilmot at this time attracted the attention of the Rev. Richard

¹ There are still Scurlocks in Carmarthenshire (see the “Return of the Owners of Land,” 1873), one of whom, an ironmonger in Carmarthen, claims descent from Lady Steele’s family.

² *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1816, Pt. II. 568.

³ Papers in Mrs. Wills’s possession.

Wilmot, brother of Sir Eardly Wilmot, of Spooden, Derbyshire. Our grandfather was so pleased that he insisted upon my father's giving up his share of the Clerkenwell and Broad Street property (which was settled upon our grandfather's younger children) to her, in order that she might take a suitable dower. This marriage unfortunately produced Edward Coke Wilmot, a lawyer, and a daughter, Charlotte Cassandra Wilmot. Our Aunt Wilmot died at Derby in the seventy-eighth year of her age, 1817, her husband having died some years before. Our Aunt Newland married a Welsh attorney; this our grandfather considered a degradation, and would not see her. She was very lovely, and died of a broken heart in the prime of her life. She left a son and daughter to the guardianship of our father; they are both dead. She was my father's favourite sister. Our grandfather was found dead in his bed one morning unexpectedly. My father was at once recalled from Jesus College, Oxford, where he also was a student, and considered by all to be very clever. He now became possessed of Blaencorse in South Wales, the copyhold of Lovehill House, and all adjoining tenements, left scrupulously free from debt. Shortly after my grandfather's death, my father's only surviving uncle, Alexander Scurlock, died, leaving my father £4000, and some land about Carmarthen, with two or three mortgages upon the estates of Lady Trevor, which she inherited in right of her mother, the heiress of Jonathan Scurlock, Esq. Lady Trevor's daughter, Diana, was beautiful as herself, but an idiot; she died at sixteen (?). My father had been made her guardian, in case she outlived her mother. On Lady Trevor's death her real estates came to my father, as the only descendant of that ancient family. He married, at thirty-five, Miss Phillipps of Kilgunnidd, Carmarthenshire, who was also an heiress, her only brother dying without issue; she landed property that came to her bringing in £600 a year. The issue of this marriage was one son, John Trevor Scurlock, and three daughters, Harriet, Charlotte, and Louisa. Our father died at Lovehill House, May 9, 1794 [1793], in his fifty-third year.

IV.

CONCLUSION.

IN one of his pamphlets, Dennis, indulging in coarse personalities, dwelt upon Steele's black peruke and dusky countenance. In reply to this "insinuation against his beauty"—an expression which, Dennis gravely maintained, was proof of his vanity—Steele wrote that his periwig was brown only; but he made no express denial of the statement that his countenance was dusky.¹ He had, however, he said, to disabuse mankind, ordered new editions of his face after Kneller, Thornhill, and Richardson. By the first he was painted "resolute," by the second "thoughtful," and by the third "indolent." When Steele sat to him, Kneller, we are told, bewailed that Carraccio was not living, and then quoted from Steele's Epistle to the Bailiff of Stockbridge: "He is gone but a little way in the course of virtue who cannot bear reproach for her sake." "You may observe," says Steele, "a roughness in the portraiture, from the vigour of that thought, which has occasioned that most ladies choose Mr. Richardson's work rather than Sir Godfrey's." Of these paintings, the earliest, that by Richardson, was executed in 1712, and is now in the National Portrait Gallery. It has been several times engraved, by J. Smith in 1713, by Bartalozzi, and, more faithfully, by Meadows in 1808. Richardson gives us Steele at the age of 40; a good-natured, portly man, with a ruddy countenance and bright eyes of a brown colour.² The portrait by Kneller³ was painted shortly afterwards for the Kit-Cat Club, and is now in the possession of Mr. Baker, of Bayfordbury. An

¹ *Theatre*, No. 11.

² An autotype of this picture is in vol. i. of this book.

³ An autotype from Simon's engraving is given in this volume.

engraving from it, published in March 1713,¹ was probably the fine mezzotint which we have, engraved by John Simon, and sold by Jacob Tonson, or, according to some copies, by J. Smith. It was afterwards engraved by Vertue—the copy used as a frontispiece to Steele's plays—by Vr. Gucht, by Faber (1733), and by Houbraken (1748). There can be little doubt that this painting is a more faithful likeness than Richardson's. Thornhill's painting is at Cobham Hall. A print of it, beautifully engraved by Vertue, was published on the 11th March 1713,² and a small circular print, by Basire, with the inscription, "Sir Richard Steele, æt. 46" (in reality 40 or 41), was given on the title-page of the various volumes of Steele's works published by Nichols. An engraving from this painting was also prefixed to the French translation of Steele's political writings published at Amsterdam in 1715. In Thornhill's portrait,³ which is very natural and life-like, we have Steele in undress, with a cap instead of the usual wig; the brightness in the eyes is the same as in the other paintings, and there is the same squareness of face as in the Kneller portrait. Nichols also mentions a portrait by Dahl, the Scandinavian artist, painted while Steele was in Scotland; this portrait was once in the possession of Mr. John Trevor Scurlock, but was sold by him. There is, too, a painting of Steele, said to be by Kneller, in the Stationers' Hall; it was presented by Nichols, and was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Oxford.⁴

Steele's literary fame rests chiefly upon his essays. His plays are full of excellent humour, but we cannot help feeling that there is a certain weakness in them all as plays, due

¹ *Post-Boy*, March 7-10, 1713.

² *Daily Courant*.

³ An engraving of this painting, by Mr. Whymper, forms the frontispiece to the first volume of this work.

⁴ Among the portraits sold after the death of Lady Trevor in 1782 were "Sir Richard Steel in gilt frame," "Miss Trevor in crayons in gilt frame," "Portrait of Mrs. Steele in gilt frame" ("Catalogue," Add. MSS. 5145B). Nichols says that Lady Trevor had her own picture, with that of Mrs. Thomas, by Pine, on the same canvas. A miniature of Steele, on ivory, was sold at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms in January 1887; it was not a good likeness. It represented Steele in a crimson velvet coat, without collar, with lace frilling, and a short powdered wig.

sometimes to an over-didactic strain, and sometimes to the improbability of the plot. But later dramatists have shown, in the way in which they have borrowed from Steele, how many scenes there are in his plays which are worthy to be placed in the first rank of comedy. He could write verse upon occasion, like most of his friends, but this, of course, does not constitute him a poet. His political writings are now little read, though they contain many noble passages, and throw much light on the writer's character. If it had not been for his patriotism, often reckless from the point of view of personal advancement, most of the libels and scandalous attacks upon him would never have appeared. He never made a study of his style, and his opponents had no difficulty in finding errors, grammatical and otherwise, in his writings. He was first of all a man of the world, and only in a secondary degree a man of letters. His work was generally done in haste, under all kinds of difficulty; he had no time to alter and realter his phrases. Yet what he wrote is always of interest, and often exercises a fascination over us through the earnest manner in which he speaks from the heart of the questions that most concern mankind; we feel the author to be a friend, for he describes the actual life that he saw around him, and the whole is told with a kindly humour and genuine pathos easily distinguishable by their large-heartedness and truth.

Steele's personal character has been allowed to unfold itself in these pages by means of his actions and writings, but it has been so far necessary to discuss from time to time his failings and excellences that any further remarks here are unnecessary. His character is not difficult to understand, and it is strange that he has been often so unfairly judged. His defects lie on the surface, and are visible to all; he was thriftless and often in debt; and he sometimes indulged too much in the pleasures of the table. As to the first fault, it may be said that, though his income at some periods of his life was large, it was for the most part fluctuating and uncertain, and until he had reached the prime of life he was decidedly poor. His difficulties, too, were due much more to his open-handed generosity than to prodigality. As to the second fault, of which so much has been made, it must be borne in mind that

the general practice as to drinking was at that time very different from what it is now; and, which is more important, that it does not at all appear that Steele was an excessive drinker. The truth seems rather to be, that he was upset by an amount of wine which many of his contemporaries could and did take with impunity.

Steele committed no error which he did not honestly regret, as we know by the prayers and other pieces that have come down to us, and that there was nothing of the hypocrite in the writer is evident from the fact that these papers were intended for no eye but his own. The inconsistency which was so often evident between his private life and his published writings arose from a certain weakness of character; his purpose was consistently good, but he had not always sufficient strength of will to enable him to carry it out. Yet in some things he was more consistent than almost any of the men of his time. In politics he maintained his own honest and patriotic opinions, independent of party claims, and often to his own personal loss; and in his ever lovable writings he always kept before him the highest aims, endeavouring, in whatever shape he might adopt for the expression of his thoughts, to reform manners and help in raising mankind to a higher level. Sometimes this was done by direct exhortation, sometimes by kindly satire upon the weaknesses of different classes with whom he came in contact, sometimes by attempts to improve the tone of the stage, sometimes by protests against the political immorality which was so prevalent; but whatever the method, the aim was always the same, and in no field were his efforts without success.

To those who have read his life it is not necessary to say more of Steele's love for his wife and children and friends; he was as far removed from some of his best-known contemporaries in his domestic relations as he was in his public life. Many of those who expressed contempt or pity for Steele would have been truer and better men if they had possessed more of the noble and charming traits which stand out so clearly in his character.



APPENDICES.



- I.—THE STEELES OF CHESHIRE, AND OTHERS.
- II.—FORDS OF ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH, BARBADOS.
- III.—PERFORMANCES OF STEELE'S PLAYS.
- IV.—MUSIC FOR STEELE'S SONGS.
- V.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.



I.

THE STEELES OF CHESHIRE, AND OTHERS.

(Book First, § I.)

THE particulars in the pedigree of the Steeles of Weston, Cheshire, which is given on the following page, are chiefly taken from a paper by Mr. R. S. Boddington, in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* for June 1884; Ormerod's *Cheshire*, iii. 449, 450; Harl. MS. 2040, f. 240; a pedigree in *Heralds' College* (C. 88); information furnished by Mrs. W. E. Steele, of Kingstown, Dublin; and papers by the late Dr. W. E. Steele in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, xii. 71, 72, 89, 118. I have verified the facts, wherever possible, by examination of wills and administrations.

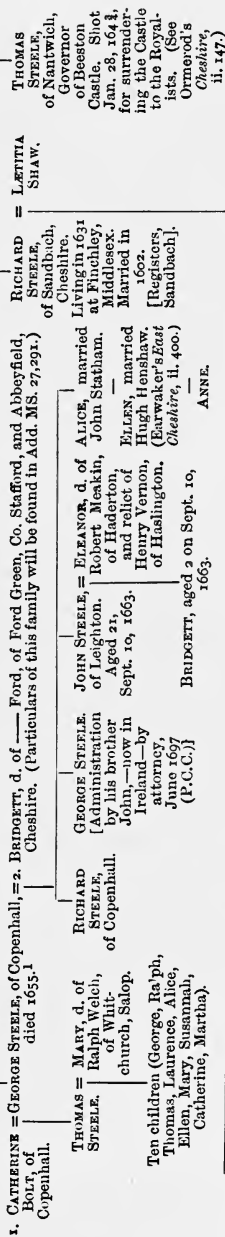
William Steele,¹ son of Richard Steele, of Sandbach, was born in a moated house, called Giddy Hall, within the verge of the present Abbeyfield estate. In 1631² he was admitted into Gray's Inn, and was called to the Bar on June 23, 1637. At the end of 1648 he was made Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, but he either was or pretended to be ill when the King's trial came on in January 1649.³ On August 25, 1649, he was made Recorder of London;

¹ See Foss's *Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England*, 1870; O'Flanagan's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland* (1870), i. pp. 351-7; and O. J. Burke's *History of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland* (1879), pp. 86, 87.

² On the 13th June. In the Register of Gray's Inn (p. 878) he is described as son of Richard Steele of Finchley, Middlesex.

³ In 1649 a quarto pamphlet, *The Duke of Hamilton, His Case*, by Mr. Steele, was published. In 1651 the manor of Bidstone, in the County Palatine of Chester, part of the estates of James, Earl of Derby, who was put to death by the "late usurpers," was sold and conveyed to William Steele, Esq., and his heirs (Earl of Derby's Bill, May 26, 1685, MSS. of House of Lords; Eleventh Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, Appendix, pt. ii. p. 285). This manor was sold by Steele to Lord Kingston in 1661, but there seems to have been some difficulty about getting all the purchase-money. Weston, a freehold estate near Crewe, where William Steele's grandfather resided, was sold to Lord Crewe.

THOMAS STEELE, OF WESTON, CHESHIRE, ABOUT 1600 =

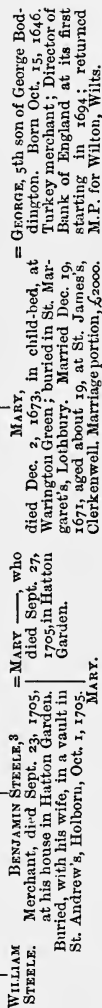


ANNE ISABELLA. 1. ELIZABETH = WILLIAM STEELE, = 2. MARY, d. of — Mellish,² Lawrence Steele, baptized July Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1056. was brother of Dr. Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood. (See Burke's *History of the Commensals*, under "Bramston of Skreens.")

RICHARD STEELE, living 1797.

WILLIAM STEELE, = MARY, = GEORGE STEELE, Registrar of the Royal Dublin Society, and afterwards Director of the Science and Art Museum, was descended from this branch.]

LAWRENCE STEELE,⁴ of Rathbride, Kildare. [The late Dr. W. E. Steele, Registrar of the Royal Dublin Society, and afterwards Director of the Science and Art Museum, was descended from this branch.]



1 By his Will (P.C.C., 465 Aylert) George Steele, after providing for his present wife Bridgett, as long as she was unmarried, left his property to his son John. If John died without issue, it was to go to his son Richard, if judged by reason of his impfection fit to manage the estate; then to his son George, William Steele, Esq., Recorder of the City of London, was an overseer of the Will.

2 Mary Mellish had a brother Henry, of Sanderstead, and a sister Rebecca Angell, widow, both of whose Wills were proved in 1676 (P.C.C. Hale, 28, 75). Administration of the estate of Benjamin Steele, who died intestate, was granted on Oct. 9, 1705, to his only child Mary, who afterwards married John Johnson. (A daughter Elizabeth was buried in 1691, at St. Andrew's, Holborn.) Mary died before 19th July 1757, when further letters of administration were granted to Agnes Johnson and Mary Johnson, daughters of John Johnson and his wife Mary, *née* Steele. This Mary Steele was a defendant in a Chancery suit in 1709 (Chancery Pleadings, Bridges III. before 1714, No. 342, Miller v. Steele).

3 Among those to whom were conveyed estates forfeited in Ireland in 1688 was Lawrence Steele. He purchased some of his property in Kildare in 1697, and Rathbride in 1702. He is mentioned in Lodge's *Indices of Land Grants (Ulster Office)*, under the date 1693.

on January 25, 1654, he became a Serjeant; on May 28, 1655, Chief Baron; and on August 26, 1656, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. On December 10, 1657, he was nominated one of Cromwell's House of Lords, and he was continued as Chancellor by a patent of Richard Cromwell, dated October 16, 1658. Duhigg¹ says that, while he was a competent lawyer, "his personal character was that of a proud, crafty, insincere man. . . . He secured his personal safety . . . by betraying the secrets of Henry Cromwell to Clarendon and Ormond." On the other hand, Ludlow² states that Steele, "being nominated of the Committee of Safety, took that opportunity to go into England, as he had long desired to do, by whose departure the affairs of Ireland suffered much, he being generally esteemed to be a man of great prudence and uncorrupted integrity. At London he refused to act in the Committee of Safety," declaring Parliament to be the proper judge.

On March 15, 1638, at Elmstead, Kent,³ William Steele married Elizabeth Godfrey. The table⁴ on the next page shows her descent. Hasted, writing in 1790 (*History of the County of Kent*, vol. iii.), says that the Godfrey family was then extinct.

The Will of William Steele, of Gray's Inn, now of Hatton Garden, Co. Middlesex, was proved on October 19, 1680, by his relict Mary⁵ (his second wife). He left to his wife, Mary Steele, £4000, besides jewels, furniture, and the dwelling-house in Hatton Garden. His sons, William and Benjamin Steele, not having received the full of

¹ *History of the King's Inns*, 1806, pp. 189, 190.

² *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (1721), vol. ii. 740-1.

³ Church Register, quoted by Mr. Boddington in *Miscellanea Heraldica*, &c., ii. 385.

⁴ Taken from the pedigree in Heralds' College (Arundel, i. 33); the "Visitation of the County of Kent, taken in the year 1619 by John Philipot, Rouge Dragon," 1863-6, pp. 71-8, &c. Other pedigrees of the Godfreys of Lydd will be found in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. 1106 f. 150, and 1432 f. 270 b; and Add. MSS. 5507, pp. 305*-307, and 5526, p. 305.

⁵ Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Bath 134). This Will disposes of the tradition that William Steele was buried in the churchyard of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, in 1657. The story had its origin, probably, in an entry in a MS. book containing copies of certain entries of christenings and burials in Dublin in the seventeenth century, in the Library of Trinity College (F. 4.14). It is as follows:—"Steel Wm L^d Chan. Irl., bur. 1657, St^t W." It is a curious coincidence that the Church of St. Werburgh was built by tradesmen and others from *Chester*, who settled in Dublin. The Rev. S. C. Hughes informs me that the Registers of St. Werburgh's do not go back beyond 1704, the earlier records having been destroyed by fire. In another MS. in Trinity College (F. 4. 2) there is also a copy of the entry of burial of Wm. Steele, Lord Chancellor, 1657, of St. Werburgh's, and this MS. is older than the one quoted above. But we have now proof that William Steele did not die until 1680, in London, and it is very improbable that his body was taken to Dublin.

THOMAS GODFREY OF LYD=ELIZ. D. OF RIC. ALLARD,
1553-1623.
(Will proved 18 Nov. 1624; at
Canterbury.)

PETER GODFREY.

THOMAS GODFREY,
of Hoddiford in Selling, Kent.
(Mentions in his Will of 1657; proved 1664,
his nephew, the Right Hon. William
Steele, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.)

= SARAH
(Mentions in her Will of 1678, proved 1680,
P.C.C. 107 Bath, her nephew, William
Steele the elder, Esq.)

RICHARD GODFREY, = MARY, d. of John Moyle,
of Wyre, Kent, M.P. for
New Romney. Bur-
ialized 19 Nov. 1592, at
Lyd; died 15 March
1641, aged 50. Buried
at Wye. Monumental
inscription. Homen-
tations in his Will
(dated 18 Aug. 1641,
proved by William
Steele, 26 Dec. 1643,
at Canterbury) his
eldest daughter Eli-
zabeth, married to
William Steele, and
his grandchild Rich-
ard.

SIR EDMUND BERY
GODFREY, murdered
Will P.C.C. 46
King.

LAMBARDE GODFREY
= KATHERINE,
("My much hon-
oured kinsman and
friend, William
Steele, Esq.; Ser-
jeant-at-Law,"
was one of the
overscers of Lam-
bard Godfrey's
Will; P.C.C. 103
Duke).

MICHAEL GODFREY
= ANN MARY (died
1708). Mentions her
cousin, Richard
Steele, in her Will
of 1707 (P.C.C.
85 Barrett).

BENJAMIN GODFREY.

ELIZABETH GODFREY, = WILLIAM STEELE,
eldest daughter.
RICHARD STEELE,
living 1707.

RICHARD GODFREY.

JOHN GODFREY.
DOROTHY GODFREY.
FRANCIS GODFREY.
(twice married.)

SUSAN GODFREY = WILLIAMS, he died SARAH GODFREY,
in Barbados before (twice married.)
1677.

¹ The Will of Susan Willett, widow, now living at Shorehouse, in the parish of Hackney, Co. Middlesex, is dated January 10, 1705, and was proved on March 18, 1707, by her daughter, Elizabeth Walker (P.C.C. 77 Barrett). She says that she has received no debts from her dear husband, nor any returns of his from abroad. He could not leave her 20s. when he went to Barbados to look after his estate, and there he died, leaving six children, which the wife brought up. Two only were left in 1705. She gave to her son Joshua the "great silver cup with the cover that was given me by my cousin Benjamin Steele, when he married from my house."

what was intended for them, "as my son Richard hath," William was given what would make up £3000, with what he had already received, and Benjamin what would make up £2000. His sister Newton, his cousin Stonier, his brother Lawrence Steele's¹ children, and his cousins Lawrence and Samuel Steele are all mentioned; £50 was left for the poor of Sandbach. The residue went to his three sons, Richard, William, and Benjamin Steele. The wife was the sole executor. This Will is dated September 17, 1680. There is a codicil dated 18th September 1680, giving instructions for the distribution of his books, some of which were to go to Sir William Bowyer. "I name not herein my cousin Steele the minister, because I give to him the polyglotte Bible." He mentions his wife's sons, Michael and William Harvey, his cousin Mary Morley, &c.

The name Steele was far from uncommon in England during the seventeenth century. In the Parish Register of Sandbach² the name often occurs; and in the Calendar of Wills, &c., for Cheshire, there are Steeles of Sandbach, Blakenell, Barthomley, Stubbs Lache, Sutton, Middleton, Stockport, and other places. Thomas Steele of Weston is entered in 1607, and an Ann Steele of Sandbach, widow, in 1649. Several references to Steeles of Cheshire will be found in Mr. J. P. Earwaker's *East Cheshire* (1877). A Richard Steele of Reddishe, Gent., served as a jurymen at various inquisitions between 1616 and 1631; and a Robert Steele was Mayor of Stockport in 1666. Some particulars of the Rev. Richard Steele, of Hanmer, who died in 1692, and was apparently the "Steele the minister," who was cousin to William Steele, will be found in the *Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.*, published by the Chetham Society, and in Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting-Houses in London*, &c. (ii. 448), where there is a portrait, taken from the painting in Dr. Williams' Library. Henry Newcome

¹ This brother Lawrence, one of the Clerks in the Irish House of Commons, by the appointment of Philip Ferneley, Esq., Clerk to the House, is mentioned once or twice in the Journals of the House. Among several who are recorded as having appointed him by power of attorney to receive money for them, we find "Ellen Guin of the Parish of St. Martins-in-the-fields, Middlesex, appoints her trusty and well beloved Laurence Steele her attorney for receiving money granted to her by the Crown, secured to her on property in Ireland" (Assignments, Record Office, Dublin). From a Chancery suit of 1706 it appears that some time before 1677 some Steeles of Monk Bretton, *alias* Burton, Yorks, yeomen, had mortgaged property to Lawrence Steele of Dublin, Gent. (Poole v. Steele, Chancery Proceedings, Bridges B. & A., V., before 1714, No. 633, Pub. Rec. Office, London).

² See list by Mr. Boddington, in *Miscellaneous Heraldica*, &c., ii. 384-5. William, son of George Steele, was baptized on August 29, 1619; on May 17, 1688, Richard Steele (probably the son of Robert Steele), baptized April 26, 1658, was married to Sarah Stubbs, and they had five children, the eldest being Richard.

was ordained at Sandbach, and died in 1695; a letter from the Rev. Richard Steele to his "Dear Brother," Mr. Newcome, is given on pp. 355-6 of the *Autobiography*. Richard Steele wrote the *Tradesman's Calling*, and other books of a practical nature. In *Notitia Cestriensis* (Chetham Society, vol. viii., 1845), we find the following entries of charitable gifts:—

"Deanery of Nantwich, Bartomley. School built about 1675 by [Revd.] Mr Rich. Steel; and endowed by him and others with £13. 2/- for the Master. School free to Steels of Claycroft Family, and all other parishioners not having £10 a year in lands or tenements" (p. 213). "*Haslington*. Charities. Left by Rich. Steel £10" (p. 215). "*Deanery of Middlewich, Sandbach*. W. Steel gave £50 towards the school."

The plates and cups in the silver communion service still used at Old Sandbach Parish Church bear the following inscription:—"The gift of Lawrence Steele, second son of Richard Steele of Sandbach, for the use of sayd Parish of Sandbach for ever. 1656."

In Harl. MS. 5533, p. 238, the following table is given, but unfortunately there are no dates:—

. . . STEEL, OF SANDBACH, CHESHIRE = . . .	
└──────────────────────────────────┘	
RICHARD STEEL=FRANCES, d. of — Webb, of Ingham, Kent.	
└──────────┘	
JOHN STEEL, of London, Gent. = SARAH, d. of Sir John Gage, of Stow, Co. Cambridge, relict of George Rodney.	

In 1677 a Laurence Steele, an Independent and a preacher, published a quarto book, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library, called "Jacob the plain man wrestling with God until the break of day and prevailing," &c., &c. He gives an account of his own life. Another Laurence Steel, of Bristol, published a little book in 1678, "Short writing begun by nature, completed by art," &c., recommending a system of shorthand.

Among the merchants of London in 1677 was a Richard Steele, Nags-head Court in Grace Church Street;¹ and in Le Neve's *Pedigree of Knights*, p. 384 (ed. G. W. Marshall, for Harleian Society, 1873), this pedigree is given:—

WILLIAM DANIELL, of London, =(1st wife) MARY, d. of — Delanoy, sister Haberdasher. of Ben de la Noy, Consul at Aleppo.		
└──────────────────────────────────┘		
S ^r PETER DANIELL, of London, Merch ^t , dyed . . . 1701.	MARY, mar. to William Mead, of London.	SUSAN, mar. to Rich ^d Steel of Lond., Merchant.

¹ "A Collection of the Names of the Merchants Living in and about The City of London . . . 1677." 12mo. (Reprinted 1863.) In the same list appears the name of Pope's father—"Alexand. Pope, Broadstreet."

There were many persons named Steele in London in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and during the earlier years of the eighteenth century; including a Giles Steele, Scrivener, a William Steele, of St. Clement Danes,¹ and several Richard Steeles. Notices of many others will be found in the Registers of London Churches,² in the lists of licences of marriage preserved in the Vicar-General's Office and the Faculty Office, and in the Calendars of Wills, &c., at Somerset House (1656-1700). A full pedigree of the Steele-Perkins, of Orton, Leicestershire, is given by Nichols ("Leicester," vol. iv., pt. ii., p. 853*); Samuel Steele Perkins (1742-1808), who was Deputy-Lieutenant for Leicester, was descended, through his grandmother, Sarah Steele, from John Steele (1641-1710), who was son of John Steele, Esq., who died October 28, 1675, and was buried in London by his wife, Sarah, daughter of Edward Nichols, Esq., of Hendon, Middlesex. There were Steeles living in Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and other counties during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.³ A John Steele was Churchwarden of Madeley (Stafford) in 1683. It does not appear who the Mrs. Delamain was who was thus noticed in *Exshaw's London Magazine*: "19 Oct., 1769. Died Mrs. Sarah Delamain, wife of Mr. Delamain, niece to the Countess of Derby, and first cousin to the ingenious Sir Richard Steele. She through life supported the dignity of her birth; she was 80 years of age, 60 in a married state; she was the mother of 27 children, grandmother of 73, and great-grandmother of 17."

Joshua Steele, who was born in 1700, was Vice-President of the London Society of Arts, and the owner of considerable property in Barbados. In 1780, when he was 80, he went to Barbados, to learn for himself the real state of affairs, and until his death in 1791 he devoted himself to improving the condition of the slaves, with the view of preparing them for freedom. He started a Society of Arts in Barbados, but the members disagreed upon discussions on the slave-trade. Dr. Davy⁴ states that Joshua (or Josiah) Steele was "a relative and contemporary of the celebrated Sir Richard Steel," but he gives no authority for the alleged connection.

¹ Indexes to Chancery Pleadings (Public Record Office, London).

² See, for example, the Registers, published by the Harleian Society, of St. James, Clerkenwell; St. Mary, Aldermay; St. Thomas the Apostle; St. Denis, Backhouse; St. Antholin, Budge Row, and St. John Baptist, Wallbrook. There are also entries of Steeles at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Margaret's, Westminster.

³ Indexes to Chancery Pleadings; Calendars of Administrations, &c.

⁴ "Before and since Slave Emancipation," by John Davy, M.D., F.R.S., 1854, pp. 70, 71. For fuller particulars of Joshua Steele see Dr. Dickson's "Mitigation of Slavery," 1814, and Clarkson's "Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies," 1823, pp. 34-40, &c.

Some confusion has arisen from the fact that there was a Sir Richard Steele, Bart., who married in 1731. He was the first Baronet, and was the second son of Robert Steele, of Summer's Cove, Kinsale,¹ who was descended from an officer in Cromwell's army, supposed to be related to Lord Chancellor Steele. Tickell, Parnell, Dean Delany, and other friends of Swift's lived at Glasnevin, near Dublin, and one of the walks of Tickell's garden is said to have been laid out by Addison's direction. Misled by these associations, writers have often said that Sir Richard Steele, Addison's friend, lived at Hampstead, in the neighbourhood. But it was in reality the baronet's family which had a residence there. The Will of the first baronet was proved in 1785. In 1841 John Maxwell Steele, Esq., eldest son of Sir Richard Steele, of Hampstead, Co. Dublin, Bart., was the chief proprietor at Aston-sub-Edge (Gloucestershire).² Sir Maxwell Steele was the last baronet. In 1821 Sir Richard Steele was High Sheriff of Co. Dublin, and Thomas Moore refers to him in his *Memoirs*, iii. 190, on the supposition that he was descended from Sir Richard Steele, Knt. :—

“ Though sprung from the clever Sir Richard this man be,
He's as different a *sort* of Sir Richard as can be.”

The arms of the Steeles of Weston, Cheshire, are given by Ormerod (*Cheshire*, iii. 449, 450) as “Argent, a fesse componé Ermine and Azure, between two Lions' heads erased Gules, on a chevron Azure three billets Or ;” and the crest, “On a wreath a lion's head erased Gules, charged with three billets Or.” But according to the pedigree in *Heralds' College* the arms should be “Gules a fesse componé ermine and azure, between two Lions' heads erased Argent, on a chief azure three billets argent.” The arms on Lady Steele's gravestone—now much worn—are described as “Argent, a bend counterponé, ermine and sable, between two lions' heads, erased gules ; on a chief azure three billets or.” It is interesting to find among the *Blenheim MSS.* a large drawing of these arms, without indication of colour, and with the Scurlock arms on a shield of pretence, inscribed, “This is the arms of Mr. Eugene Steele.” The writing is not Sir Richard Steele's, but the sketch was evidently made by some friend to give the boy pleasure. Moreover, an engraving of Steele's arms—to which Mr. Sydney Grazebrook kindly drew my attention—is given on p. vii. of the *Arms of the Sub-*

¹ The name of John Steel, Kinsale, appears in the *Calendar of Irish Civil Correspondence*, Record Tower, Dublin Castle ; vol. i., September 19, 1713 (6176).

² *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (1836, &c.), vol. vii., 285.

scribers prefixed to Senex's *A New General Atlas*, which was published by subscription in 1721. The subscribers would no doubt be asked to supply their arms, and those furnished by Steele agree with the drawing among the Blenheim MSS. There is evidence in the books at the Heralds' College that some time after Steele's death several efforts were made, possibly at the instance of Steele's daughter, Lady Trevor, to find his arms.¹ Thus in July 1742 search was made for the arms of Sir Richard Steele, but they were not found; there were only the arms of Steeles in Grafton. In May 1743 search was made for the arms of Steeles of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Cheshire; in June 1746 the arms of Steeles in Cheshire were found. In July 1750 search was made, without success, for the arms of Steeles of Warwickshire.

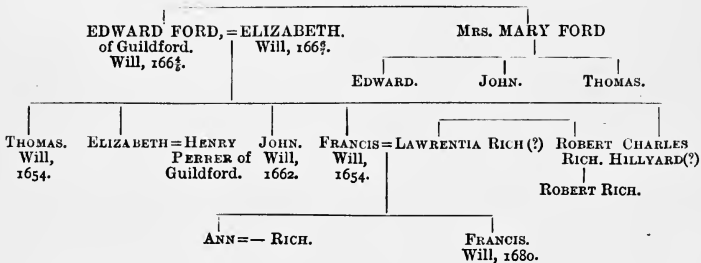
¹ "Waiting Book," Heralds' College.

II.

FORDS OF ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH, BARBADOS.

(Book Third, § I.)

THE Wills given below will be made more intelligible by a pedigree setting forth the principal facts contained in them.



THOMAS FOORDE, by his Will, 28 Sept. 1654 (Barbados), bequeathed to his younger brother, John Foorde, £400, and all the goods he had on board the "Pacamore" and the "Francis and Joyce" (of which R. Batson was part owner), except a black nag which was for his brother, Francis Foord. Of £500 at Guildford, he gave £300 to his father and mother; and the other £200 to his brother John, and also certain houses and land after his father and mother's death. His brother John was likewise to have all his Storehouses and goods in Barbados, and to pay his debts. £160, due by Henry Perrerr to the testator, was to be thus divided: £100 to his brother John, and afterwards to his children, in equal shares, and the £60 remaining to his father and mother. He gave £10 each to Mrs. Batson, Mrs. Bridgewood, and Mrs. Mercy Batson, to buy mourning gowns; and £5 each to Matthew Batson, Elizabeth Batson, and Mary Foord the younger, to buy diamond rings. A box of money would be found in the Roundhouse; £20

of it was to pay funeral expenses; and "pieces of gold" were to be given to Doctor Wethers, Mr. Ward, Mr. Cease, and Thomas Batson to buy rings with. His clothes and other things on board the "Pacamore" were to be given to his brother John Foord.

FRANCIS FOORD, in his Will, 20 Oct. 1654 (Barbados), directed that he was to be buried at St. Michael's Church. He appointed his brother John Foord and Humphrey Kent executors. He bequeathed to his wife the profits of sugar he had shipped to London for sale to his brother Lieut. Chas. Hillyard, and he gave his wife 2500 lbs. of sugar, and directed it to be shipped to the said Hillyard. He also gave his wife (for the child she was pregnant with) a house and land which he bought from William Johnson; but if the child died the same was to be for his wife absolutely. He bequeathed to his brother John certain houses in Bridgetown, purchased from Wm. Johnson, and certain moneys due to the testator. He gave £500 to his father and mother, Edward and Elizabeth, then living in Guildford, Surrey, to be paid to their order by his brother John. He left his household effects and a bay gelding and the negro Robin to his wife Lawrence Foord, and his clothes to his brother John. He bequeathed 4 acres of land to Humphrey Kent, jun., and £50 to Mrs. Ames Blythe, wife of Capt. Blythe. All legacies which his brother Thomas bequeathed by his Will were to be paid. He gave a suit of mourning of black cloth to each of the following:—Thomas Hooper (minister), Lt.-Colonel Robt. Hooper, Chas. Rich, John Parris, Thos. Batson, Hy. Batson, Capt. Gabriel Goodman, Wm. Wright, Wm. Eastchurch, Wm. Johnson, Francis Clay, Capt. John Blythe, Wm. Tickle, Jno. Shurland, Peter Calbord, and Humphrey Kent. He gave £20 to his brother Chas. Hillyard and his wife to buy mourning with. He directed 25,000 lbs. of sugar to be paid to his wife immediately after his decease. He also gave his cook William 500 lbs. of sugar. At the foot of the Will is a disclaimer of the executorship of Humphrey Kent.

JOHN FOORD, Merchant, by his Will, 28 Oct. 1662 (Barbados), directed that his body should be buried at St. Michael's Church. He bequeathed to his father and mother, Edward and Elizabeth Foord, all his estate in England and Barbados; after their death it was to go to the children of Richard Lavey by Jane Mills; to the children of his brother-in-law, Henry Perryer by Elizabeth Foord, and to the children of Wm. Leach by Mary Lavey. He bequeathed 25/- each to the following persons, to buy gold rings:—Wm. Bynion, Wm. Pavey, Doctor de la Rouse, Marvin Hailes, John Fisher, Captains John Williams, John Green, Robt. Browning,

Robt. Clarke, Thos. Bond, Thos. Bartlett, Mr. Richd. Seawell and wife, Mr. V. Barnes and wife, Mark Mockinson, Jas. Sparrow, Mrs. Sarah Bridgewood, Mrs. Martha Batson, his aunt Mrs. Mary Foord, his cousins Edward, John and Thomas Foord, and cousin Thos. Day and wife, William Eastchurch and wife, Humphrey Kent and wife, and Robert Kemish. To Humphrey Kent, senior, he bequeathed 4 acres of land that his brother Francis bequeathed to Humphrey Kent, Junior, but which was not delivered to him. He bequeathed to Francis Foord, junior, 10/- when he attained 21 years. He left to Lieut. Wm. Eastchurch his diamond ring, and to Robert Kemish his grey gelding and negro boy Robin. He bequeathed to Mr. Robt. Howard and wife 400 lbs. of sugar to buy a gold ring apiece. He gave his clothes to his servants Sampson Ellis and Thos. Lavey, and also left to Sampson Ellis 1000 lbs. of sugar. He appointed Wm. Eastchurch, Humphrey Kent, and Robt. Kemish executors.

EDWARD FOORDE, of St. Nich., Guildford, yeoman, made his Will 31 Oct. 1663, being aged (Archd. Court of Surrey). He left to his son-in-law Henry Perryer and his children Henry, John, Edward, and Elizabeth, 1/- each; to his daughter-in-law Laurentia, heretofore wife of his son Francis, 1/-; and to his grandson Francis, son of the above, 20/-. The residue was to go to his wife Elizabeth. The Will was proved 6 Feb. 1664-5.

ELIZABETH FOORD, of St. Nich., Guildford, widow, made her Will 11 Aug. 1665 (Archd. Court of Surrey). She left 5/- to Henry Perrior the elder, of Guildford, tallow-chandler, and 10/- to his son Caleb. She left 5/- to her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Rich; 20/- to her grandchild Francis, child of Francis Foord; and similar sums to her kinsman Edward Ford of Guildford, gent., Mr. Rich. Ford and his wife, and his son Edward, her kinsman Mr. Thomas Ford of Guildford; her kinsman Thos. Day of Stoke, next Guildford, gent., and Mary his wife, her kinswoman; Mary Lech, wife of Thos. Lech of Wokingham, Berks, butcher; her daughter Mary; her kinswoman Ann King, widow, of Guildford, and John and Sarah King, her son and daughter; several Laveys; her grand-daughter Elizabeth Perrior, her grandchildren Henry and John Perrior, sons of Henry Perrior the elder; and her grandchild Edward, son of the same. This Will, signed with a mark, was proved 4 Feb. 1666-7.

FRANCIS FORD made his Will, 24 April 1680 (Barbados), when ill of the fever on board the ship "Honor," bound for Barbados, and commanded by Capt. Thos. Warren. Many of the ship's company had died of the fever. He bequeathed £5 to Roland Holt and

Jos. Hough (on board); and £10 to his honoured and kind master, Fras. Bond, in Barbados, which £10 his cousin Robert Rich was requested to pay on the authority of a letter which the testator said he had from his uncle Robt. Rich. He bequeathed £30 to his sister Ann Rich; and if his mother had died since his departure from England he bequeathed whatever she had left him to his sister, Ann Rich. He gave Mr. Bond the things in his trunk.

There does not appear to be any connection between the family referred to in the above Wills and the John Foord whose Will, dated 1685, is given in vol. i. p. 128, and who was father of Major Robert Ford. None of the names mentioned in the Wills of the family from Guildford occur in connection with the family to which Major Ford belonged; and, moreover, the Fords of Guildford, although the sons evidently became possessed of a good amount of property in Barbados, appear to have been in a lower position, socially, than the family into which Steele married. I have, however, given these details in the Appendix, for the sake of any who are interested in West Indian genealogies, and who may wish to see for themselves the original authorities, most of which I obtained from Barbados. A "Jno. Foord ye son of Jno. Foord" of St. Michael's was baptized on the 24th February 1649; but, apart from other reasons, he cannot be the John Foord, Will 1685, for if he were he would have had five grandchildren by the time he was thirty-six (see vol. i. pp. 128-9). John Foord (Will, 1662) appears to have had no children.

III.

PERFORMANCES OF STEELE'S PLAYS.

IN the following table I have endeavoured to show at a glance the dates of the performances of Steele's plays during his lifetime, with some of later date. The information is gathered from Egerton MS. 2320,—a list, not always accurate, apparently drawn up by Griffin, the actor and dramatist—Egerton MSS. 2321, 2322; Additional MSS. 25,390—25,392, by Isaac Reed; Additional MSS. 32,249—32,252; from the advertisements in contemporary newspapers; and from Genest's *Account of the English Stage*. The list is doubtless incomplete, but it will indicate generally the hold the plays had upon the stage. Except when otherwise stated, the performances were at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

Year.	The Funeral.	The Lying Lover.	The Tender Husband.	The Conscious Lovers.
1701	Nov. } or Dec. } First per- formances.	...	...	...
1703	May 28. Nov. 1.	Dec. 2. (First per- formance.) " 3. " 4. " 6. " 7. " 8. (Benefit of author.) " 15.	...	...
1705	Dec. 12. ("Revived.")	...	April 23. (First per- formance.) " 24. " 25. " 26. " 28. May 19. June 23. (Benefit of Mr. Bullock.) "The last new Comedy." Oct. 24. Nov. 15. Dec. 20.	...

Year.	The Funeral.	The Lying Lover.	The Tender Husband.	The Conscious Lovers.
1706	...	...	Jan. 16. Feb. 26. (Benefit of Mrs. Oldfield.) May 30. June 6. Dec. 7. (At Queen's Theatre, Haymarket, never acted there before.)	...
1707	...	...	Dec. 9. (Haymarket.) Feb. 25. (Haymarket. Benefit of Mrs. Oldfield.) Nov. 11. (Haymarket.)	...
1708	March 18. (Benefit of Mr. Mills.)	...	...	...
1709	March 31. (Benefit of Mr. Mills. "At the request of some Persons of Quality, two Benches of the Pit will be railed into the Boxes at the same price."— <i>Daily Courant</i>.)	...	...	...
1710	Jan. 12. (Haymarket.) Feb. 6. (Haymarket. Benefit of Mrs. Bicknell.) Dec. 14.	...	Jan 26. (Haymarket. Benefit of Mr. Cibber. With a new mimical prologue and epilogue written and spoken by Mr. Cibber.)	...
1711	Feb. 9. April 26. (Benefit of Mr. Johnson.) Nov. 8.	...	May 10. (Benefit of Mrs. Knight.) Dec. 18. (For the entertainment of the New Toasts, and several Ladies of Quality.)	...
1712	Jan. 12. " 14. May 30.	...	...	..
1713	April 8. Dec. 9.	...	...	...
1714	...	...	Jan. 28. April 9.	...
1715	Feb. 22. Nov. 21.	...	Feb. 28. (By command.) April 7. (Benefit of Mrs. Margareta de Lepine.) Oct. 31	...
1716	Feb. 9. April 30. Dec. 11.	...	Feb. 10. May 15. May 23. Nov. 27.	...
1717	Oct. 16.	...	March 7. (Prince and Princess of Wales present.)	..
1718	Feb. 12. May 27.	...	April 23. Oct. 30.	...

Year.	The Funeral.	The Lying Lover.	The Tender Husband.	The Conscious Lovers.
1719	...	...	Jan. 31. May 18. Sept. 15.	...
1720	...	...	May 31.	...
1721	April 13. May 26. Oct. 18. Dec. 20.	...	Jan. 27. Oct. 17.	...
1722	April 16. Oct. 22. Dec. 17.	...	Jan. 8. April 9. Oct. 25.	Nov. 7—(First performance. The characters new dressed) — to Nov. 27; — 18 times. Author's benefit, Nov. 9. Dec. 10. ,, 14. ,, 18. ,, 28. Feb. 26. March 12.
1723	May 7. Nov. 1.	...	Jan. 18. March 26. Nov. 18.	April 4. (Benefit of Mrs. Younger.) April 30. (Benefit of Mr. Shepard.) Sept. 14. (Opening night of season.)
1724	Jan. 3. May 19. Nov. 6.	...	Feb. 4. Nov. 2.	Feb. 18. April 22. (Benefit of Mr. Williams.) Nov. 19.
1725	Jan. 19. May 5. (Benefit of Mr. Chetwood.) Oct. 15. Dec. 20.	...	Feb. 15. April 17. Oct. 28. Dec. 29.	April 5. (Benefit of Mrs. Horton.) April 27.
1726	May 13 Sept. 22.	...	Oct. 18. Nov. 30.	Jan. 3. Feb. 24. March 31. (Benefit of Mrs. Horton.) April 29.
1727	Oct. 20.	...	Oct. 19. Dec. 11.	Feb. 11. March 2. April 10. Sept. 21.
1728	Feb. 25. May 13. Oct. 23.	...	April 4. Oct. 24.	...
1729	Jan. 10. Oct. 14.	...	Jan. 14. March 8. April 28. Oct. 21.	Nov. 8.
1730	Jan. 2. April 17. Nov. 25.	...	Jan. 19. April 20. (For benefit of Mr. Cibber, jun., and Mrs. Cibber.)	Nov. 23. (Lincoln's Inn Fields. Never acted there before. Boxes 5s., Pit 3s.) Nov. 24. } (Lincoln's ,, 25. } Inn Fields.) Dec. 2. }

Year.	The Funeral.	The Lying Lover.	The Tender Husband.	The Conscious Lovers.
1731	Feb. 4. Nov. 26.	...	...	Jan. 7. " 23. March 11. (Benefit of Mrs. Younger. By command of His Royal Highness.) April 5. (Benefit of Salle.) May 12. ("Particular care will be taken to keep the house cool." Benefit of Mrs. Buchanan.) [The proceeds of the nine performances this season (1730-1) amounted to £857. 16s. 6d., giving an average of £95. 6s. 3d.]
1732	Jan. 24. March 23. April 21. Nov. 14.	...	April 27. Dec. 28.	...
1733	...	...	Feb. 26. May 2. Oct. 15. (Haymarket. By the old company turned out of Drury Lane by Highmore.) Nov. 8. (Haymarket.) Jan. 24. (Haymarket.) May 8. Nov. 2. Dec. 3. Jan. 24. Feb. 3.	April 4.
1734	March 25. April 16.	...	...	May 24. Oct. 25.
1735	...	...	...	Jan. 17. March 24. April 28. June 5. Feb. 9 to Feb. 16,—7 times.
1736	...	...	April 12. May 3. Sept. 16.	March 3. (By Their Majesties' command.) March 15. (By command of His Royal Highness.) Aug. 26. (By command of Prince and Princess of Wales. Opening night of the season.) Aug. 31.
1737	...	...	...	Sept. 13. (Mr. Cibber ill; Tom's part read by Macklin.) Peg Woffington's second speaking character—at Augier Street Theatre, Dublin—was Philis, in this play.

Year.	The Funeral.	The Lying Lover.	The Tender Husband.	The Conscious Lovers.
1738	...	...	Nov. 20. (Covent Garden. "Never acted there.") Nov. 25.	...
1739	Feb. 16. (Covent Garden.)	...	...	...
1740	April 22. ("Not acted seven years." Part of the stage formed into side-boxes for better accommodation of the ladies.)	...	..	...
1741	...	...	...	March 9. (Covent Garden.) (Peg Woffington as Phillis; her first season in London.)
1742	...	...	Sept. 21. Dec. 29. (Garrick's first season.)	Sept. 29. } (Covent Nov. 27. } Garden.) Sept. 16. Oct. 21. Dec. 17.
1743	...	...	...	April 25. May 18. (Benefit of Box-keeper.) Jan. 26. } (Covent March 24. } Garden.) April 25. }
1745	Nov. 11. } (Covent ,, 20. } Garden.)	...	...	...
1746	...	Apr. 4.	...	...
1747	...	...	...	March 12. ...
1749	Jan. 13. ("Not acted seven years.") Jan. 14.	...	Nov. 24. ("Not acted eight years.")	...
1751	...	...	...	Oct. 3.
1758	April 21. (Covent Garden.)	...	...	April 25. (Covent Garden.)
1759	...	...	...	Oct. 2. Nov. 8.
1760	Feb. 8. ("Not acted there ten years.") Feb. 11. ,, 12. ,, 18. March 18. Mrs. Pritchard's benefit.) May 2. (Covent Garden.) May 5.	...	March 17. (Covent Garden.) April 24. (Garrick's first appearance as Sir Harry Gubbin.)	March 14. ,, 15. April 26. May 27. Dec. 30. April 21. } (Covent May 9. } Garden.) Nov. 29. }
1763	...	...	...	Oct. 5. (Covent Garden.)
1766	...	...	...	April 4.
1770	...	...	March 27. ("Not acted ten years.")	...
1773	April 23. (Covent Garden. "Not acted seven years.")	...	...	...
1774	...	...	...	Oct. 7. (Covent Garden.)

Year.	The Funeral.	The Lying Lover.	The Tender Husband.	The Conscious Lovers.
1776	Aug. 2. (Liverpool.)
1780	Oct. 21.
1783	April 28. ("Not acted twelve years.")	Jan. 6. ...
1787	Dec. 5. (Covent Garden. "Never acted there" (!))	March 27. (Covent Garden.)
1789	April 30. (Covent Garden.)	...	...	...
1791	Oct. 13. (Covent Garden.)	...
1792	Oct. 20. (Drury Lane Company at Hay-market.) "Not acted ten years." Acted three times.	...
1796	Dec. 20. ("Not acted twelve years.")
1797	Nov. 18. (Covent Garden.)
1799	April 17. ("Not acted twenty years.")	...	...	...
1802	May 17. (Charles Kemble and Mrs. Jordan.)	...
1810	Jan. 16. (Covent Garden.) "Revived." Acted twice.
1818	April 25. (Bath. "Not acted twenty years.")
1823	May 27. (Bath.) "Not acted thirty years."	...

I may here add from a little book by J. Brownsmith, Prompter to the Theatre Royal in the Hay-Market, published in 1767, tables showing the length of time then occupied in acting the "Funeral," "Conscious Lovers," and "Tender Husband." The title of the book is "The Dramatic Time-Piece: Being a calculation of the length of time every act takes in the performing, in all the acting plays." The author pointed out that people would now know when to have their carriages brought to the Theatre, and thus "prevent their Cattle from catching cold," and their servants "assembling in Public Houses, or houses of ill fame, to the destruction of their morals, properties, and constitutions." The time at which the Third Act ended was specially noted, because people were at that point admitted at half-prices. The play was over at about half-past eight, after which the ladies and gentlemen walked in the park in the summer-time.

The Funeral.	The Conscious Lovers.	The Tender Husband.
Act I. 30 minutes. II. 36 " III. 20 " IV. 20 " V. 20 " —————	Act I. 33 minutes. II. (a Song) 28 " III. 24 " IV. 28 " V. 31 " —————	Act I. 25 minutes. II. 22 " III. 14 " IV. 15 " V. 18 " —————
Total, 2 hours 6 minutes.	Total, 2 hours 14 minutes.	Total, 1 hour 34 minutes.
Act III. ends at 7.40 P.M. The Play over at 8.36 P.M.	Act III. ends at 7.39 P.M. The Play over at 8.44 P.M.	Act III. ends at 7.15 P.M. The Play over at 8.4 P.M.

IV.

MUSIC FOR STEELE'S SONGS.

In this Appendix I give some specimens of the original music to songs in Steele's Plays. Daniel Purcell and Richard Leveridge set most of these songs to music, and William Croft composed overtures and act-tunes for the *Funeral* and the *Lying Lover*. Croft's music was published in separate parts, viz., first and second treble (violins), tenor and bass. I can here give only the music for the first treble in the Overture to the *Funeral*, taken from the copy in the Library of the (old) Sacred Harmonic Society, now at the Royal College of Music, which Sir George Grove kindly allowed me to consult. I have also given Arne's music for the song, "When Gentle Parthenissa Walks," as well as Purcell's; and a setting by C. Smith of the song "Thou Rising Sun," in the 366th number of the *Spectator*.

1.

MR. WM. CROFT'S AYRES IN THE COMEDY CALL'D THE FUNERAL,
OR, GRIEF ALLAMODE.

Overture.—First Treble.

The image displays ten staves of musical notation, likely for a single melodic line. The music is written in G major (one sharp) and common time. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and ties. A key signature change to 3/4 time is indicated by a double bar line with a '3' over and a '4' under in the third staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the tenth staff.

A musical score consisting of ten staves of music in G major, 4/4 time. The melody is written on a treble clef staff. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

SCOTCH AIRE.

A single staff of music for a "SCOTCH AIRE" in G major, 4/4 time. The melody is written on a treble clef staff and begins with a common time signature (C). The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Four staves of musical notation in G major, 4/4 time. The first staff is the melody, and the following three staves are the accompaniment. The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a final double bar line.

2.

Sung by Mrs. HARRIS. Set by Mr. D. PURCELL (1701)

Three systems of musical notation for a vocal piece with piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The music is in 3/4 time and G major. The lyrics are as follows:

Let not Love, let not love on me, on me be-
 stow, Soft Dis-tress, soft dis-tress and ten-der woe.
 I know none, no, no, no none but Sub-stan-tial Blissess,

ea - ger glan - ces, ea - ger glan - ces,

So - lid Kiss - es. I know not what the Lov - ers

feigne, of fin - er Plea - sure mixed with Pain, then pri - thee, pri - thee

give me, gen - tle Boy, none of thy grief, but

all, all, all, all, but all, all, all, all, all, all the Joy, pri - thee

give me, pri - thee give me, gen - tle Boy, none of the

grief, but all, all, all, all, but all, all, all, all, all, all, the

Joy, but all, all, all, all, all, all the Joy.

3.

Sung by Mrs. CHAMPION. Set by Mr. D. PURCELL.

Ye Min-utes bring the Hap

. . py, Hap - py Hour

Ye Min-utes bring ye Hap

. py, Hap-py Hour, and Cloe

Blush-ing, Cloe Blush-ing to the Bower,

then shall all Idle flames be o're, nor

Eyes, nor heart E're wan der

more, both, Cloe, fix't, fix't for

E're on thee, for thou art all, all, all, all,

all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all . . . thy Sex to

me, both, Cloe, fix't, fix't for

E're on thee, for thou art all, all, all, all,

all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all . . . thy Sex to

me, art all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all, all,

all thy Sex to me.

A Guilty is a false Embrace,
 Corinna's Love's a Fairy-Chace :
 Begone, thou Meteor, Fleeting Fire,
 And all, that can't survive Desire.
 Cloe my Reason moves and Awe,
 And Cupid shot me, when he saw.

4.

COLLECTION OF SONGS BY MR. LEVERIDGE. London, 1727. 8vo.
 Vol. II. No. 3.

Since the Day of poor Man, that lit-tle, lit-tle Span, tho'

long it can't last for the future, and past, is spent with re-morse and dis-

- pair, pair, with such a full Glass, with such a full

Glass, let that, let that of Life pass ; 'Tis
 made up of Trouble, a storm, tho' a Bub-ble, there's no Bliss, there's
 no Bliss, like for - get - ting, for - get - ting our care.

5.

SONG BY BOY IN THE "TENDER HUSBAND."

Set by Mr. D. PURCELL.

(Within the Compass of the Flute.)

While Gen - - - tle Par - the - nis - sa walks,

While Gen -

- - - tle Par - the - nis - sa walks, and sweet -

- - - ly smiles, and sweet - - - - ly

smiles and gay - - - - ly talks,

a thou - sand shafts a - round her fly, a

thou - sand swains un - heed ed Dye, a thou - sand

shafts a - round her fly, a thou - sand Swains, a thou - sand

Swains un - heed - ed Dye, a thou - sand Swains, a thou - sand

A little faster.

Swains un - heed - ed Dye, if then she la - bours

to be seen, with all her kill - ing Air and mien, from

so much Beau - ty, so much Art, what Mor - tal can se -

- cure his Heart? from so much Beau - ty, so much Art, what

Mor - tal can se - cure, what Mor - tal can se -

- cure, what Mor - tal can se - cure his Heart?

what Mor - tal can se - cure his Heart?

Another rendering, about 1740, by — SULLIVAN, will be found in the British Museum. [G. 313 (92).]

6.

SONGS IN "AS YOU LIKE IT," &C., BY T. A. ARNE.

Sung by MRS. CLIVE, in the "Tender Husband."

Amoroso.

The first system of music consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody begins with a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The piano accompaniment is in the bass clef, starting with a quarter note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, Bb2, and C3. The piano part includes several sixteenth-note chords and a trill on the final note.

The second system continues the music. The vocal line features a triplet of eighth notes (G4, A4, Bb4), followed by a trill on C5. The piano accompaniment includes a triplet of sixteenth notes (G2, A2, Bb2) and a trill on C3. The system concludes with a repeat sign (double bar line with dots) and the word *pia* written below the vocal line.

The third system continues the music. The vocal line has a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The piano accompaniment has a quarter note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, Bb2, and C3. The system concludes with a repeat sign (double bar line with dots) and the word *When* written below the vocal line. The lyrics "gen - tle Par - the - nis - sa walks, or" are written below the piano part.

gay - ly smiles or sweet - ly talks.

4 4 6 7 5 6 4 3

A thou - sand charms a - round her

6 6 6 6 6

fly, a thou - sand Swains un - heed - ed

6 5 6 6 6 6 5

dye, a thou - sand Swains un -

4 5 6 6 6 6 6

heed - ed dye, dye.

If then she labours to be seen,
 With all her killing Air and Mien ;
 From so much Beauty, so much Art,
 What Mortal can secure his Heart ?

7.

INDIANA'S SONG. (1722.) *Composer not known.*

From place to place for - lorn I
 go, with down - cast Eyes, down - cast
 Eyes, down - cast Eyes, a si - lent

shade; For - bid-den to de - clare, de - clare my

woe, to speak, to speak till spo-ken to, a - fraid.

My inward Pangs, my secret Grief,
 My soft, consenting Looks betray;
 He loves, but gives me no Relief;
 Why speak not he who may?

8.

AN ODE FROM THE "SPECTATOR."

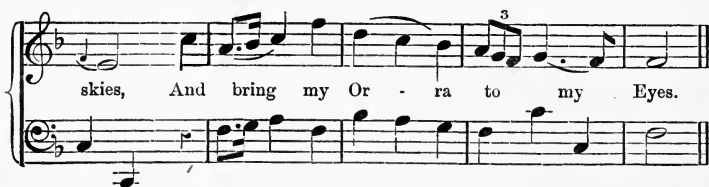
Set by Mr. C. SMITH, junr. Set for the German Flute. (1750?).

Thou ris - - ing Sun, whose glad - some

Ray In - vites my Fair to ru - - - ral



Play, Dis - pel the Mist and clear the



skies, And bring my Or - ra to my Eyes.

No longer then perplex thy Breast,
When thoughts torment, the first are best ;
'Tis mad to go, 'tis Death to stay,
Away to Orra, haste away.

V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

NOTE.—The place of publication is indicated in this Bibliography only when it is other than London.

I.—COLLECTIONS OF WORKS.

II.—SINGLE WORKS.

III.—SELECTIONS.

IV.—APPENDIX.

(1.) BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM.

(2.) MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

(3.) PAMPHLETS, &C., RELATING TO STEELE.

(4.) SOME FOLLOWERS OF THE "TATLER," "SPECTATOR,"
AND "GUARDIAN."

I.—COLLECTIONS OF WORKS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele . . . with literary and historical anecdotes by John Nichols. 1787. 2 vols. 8°.

The Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele; including his familiar letters to his wife and daughters; to which are prefixed fragments of three Plays . . . with literary and historical anecdotes, by John Nichols. 1809. 2 vols. 8°.

DRAMATIC WORKS.

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——— 1712. 12°. (See next entry.)

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- The *Funeral and the Tender Husband*, Comedies. By Mr. Steele. Tonson. 1717. 12°. (A common, and also separate title-pages. Bound in the same volume there is frequently *The Lying Lover*, Mears, 1717.)
- The *Dramatick Works of Sir Richard Steele*. (Three comedies, all dated 1723, *The Lying Lover* being described as the "fourth edition.") 1723. 12°. (A common and also separate title-pages; the common title-page bearing the names both of Tonson and Lintot. Published Nov. 14, 1722.)
- 1734. 12°. (Four comedies.)
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- 1737. Dublin. 12°.
- 1755. 12°.
- 1760. 12°. (The copy in the British Museum has a common title-page dated 1760, but the plays are later editions, with separate title-pages dated 1768, 1771, 1764, and 1767.)
- 1761. 12°. "To which is added an account of his life and writings." (The plays in the British Museum copy are dated 1777, 1771, 1776, and 1764, respectively.)
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- The *Lover*; to which is added, *The Reader*. By the same Author. 1715. (Published Dec. 18, 1714.) 8°. (Some copies on large paper).
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- The Lover, written in imitation of the Tatler ; by Marmaduke Myrtle, gent. To which is added The Reader. Both by the author of the Tatler and Spectator. A New Edition, with Notes and Illustrations. (Edited by J. Nichols.) 1789. 8°.
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 ——— 1713. Dublin, reprinted. 12°. (The volume in my possession contains 40 Nos., the last of which bears the inscription, "The end of the first Vol." On the title-page is, "To be continued." The pagination is continuous, but the numbers were issued separately, for some of them contain a notice that "advertisements will be inserted in this paper, as often as publish'd, which will be (at least) three times a week; if not hindred by English Packets not coming in." Most of the numbers have a note at the end, "Printed and sold by J. Carson, opposite the Golden-Ball, in Christ-Church Yard, 1713.")
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 ——— 1714. (May.) 12°.
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- 1713. Second edition. 8°.
- 1713. Third edition. 8°.
- 1713. Fourth edition. 8°.
- 1715. Réflexions sur l'importance de Dunkerque, trad. de l'Anglois. Londres. 12°.
- An inquiry into the manner of creating Peers. (Anon.) 1719. 8°. (Also attributed to Richard West.)
- Second edition. 1719. 8°.
- The Joint and Humble Address of the Tories and Whigs Concerning the Bill of Peerage. (April 30—May 2.) 1719. (I have

not met with a copy of the original pamphlet, but it is reprinted in Boyer's Annals for May 1719. The rough draft, in Steele's writing, is at Blenheim.)

The Ladies Library. Written by a Lady. Published by Mr. Steele. (Oct. 9.) 1714. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1717. *La Bibliothèque des Dames.* (Translated by F. M. Janiçon.) Amsterdam. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1719. *Do.* Amsterdam. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1722. Second edition. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1723. Third edition. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1724. *La Bibliothèque des Dames.* (Janiçon.) Amsterdam. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1732. Fourth edition. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1739. Fifth edition. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1751. Sixth edition. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1764. *De Boekzaal der Juffers.* Uit het engelsch vertaalt. Amsterdam. 3 vols. 16°.

——— 1772. Seventh edition. 3 vols. 12°.

——— 1772. Eighth edition. 3 vols. 12°.

The Layman's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor: Or, an Examination of His Lordship's 'Preservative against the Nonconformists,' &c. 1716. 4°. (Attributed to Steele at the time, but his authorship denied in a "Reply" to "Remarks upon the Lord Bishop of Bangor's Treatment of the Clergy and Convocation," 1717.)

A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King, before His Majesty's Arrival in England. With some Remarks on my Lord's subsequent Conduct. By Sir Richard Steele. (Sept. 30.) 1715. 8°. (Reprinted in Somers' Tracts, 4th collection, iv. 426 (1751), and second edition, xiii. 723, and at the end of some copies of the "Englishman, vol. ii.," 1716 and 1737.)

——— 1715. Glasgow. 8°.

A Letter to a Member, &c., concerning the condemn'd lords, in vindication of gentlemen calumniated in the St. James's Post of Friday, March 2. (March 6, 1716.) 4°.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Bill for Preventing the Growth of Schism. By Richard Steele, Esq. (June 3.) 1714. 4°.

——— 1714. Second edition. 4°.

——— 1714. Dublin. 4°.

——— 1714. Edinburgh. 8°.

A Letter to Sir M. W[harton] concerning Occasional Peers. (Signed "F. Hicks.") (March 5.) 1713. s. sh. fol.

- A Letter to the Earl of O——d, concerning the Bill of Peerage.
By Sir R——d S——le. (Dec. 7.) 1719. 8°.
- 1719. Second edition. 8°.
- 1719. Third edition. 8°. (Reprinted in "The Orphan Revived, or Powell's Weekly Journal," December 26, 1719—January 2, 1719–20, &c.)
- Literary Relics. . . . By George Monck Berkeley, Esq. 1789. 8°. (Letters from Steele to J. Keally, Esq.)
- The Lover. By Marmaduke Myrtle, Gent. 40 Nos. February 25 to May 27, 1714. fol. (For the collected editions see "I.—Collections of Works—Essays, &c.")
- 1797. 8°. (Harrison's "British Classics," Vol. 8.)
- Lucius, by Mrs. Manley. 1717. 4°. (Prologue by Steele. Dedicated to Steele.)
- The Lying Lover: Or, the Ladies' Friendship. A Comedy. . . .
Written by Mr. Steele. (January 26.) 1704. 4°.
- 1712. Second edition. 12°.
- 1717. Third edition. 12°.
- 1723. Fourth edition. 12°.
- 1732. Fifth edition. 12°.
- 1736. 12°.
- 1752. Dublin. 8°.
- 1760. Sixth edition. 12°.
- 1764. Seventh edition. 12°.
- 1776. 12°.
- The Medley. 45 Nos. 1710–11. fol. (The first part of No. 23 by Steele.)
- Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon. By Mrs. K. Thomson. 1847. 2 vols. 8°. (Letters from Steele, i. 53, 57, 58.)
- Mr. Steele's Apology for Himself and his Writings; Occasioned by his Expulsion from the House of Commons. (October 22) 1714. 4°.
- Mr. Steele's Speech upon the proposal of Sir Thomas Hanmer for Speaker of the House of Commons. 1714. 4°.
- The Muses Mercury: Or the Monthly Miscellany. January 1707—January 1708. 4°. (Poems by Steele in numbers for January, February, and September 1707).
- A Nation a Family: Being the Sequel of The Crisis of Property; or, A Plan for the improvement of the South Sea Proposal. By Sir Richard Steele, Knight, Member of Parliament. (February 26.) 1720. 8°.
- A New Miscellany of Original Poems, on several occasions. . . .
Never before printed. 1701. 8°. (On p. 335 is Steele's poem

- “To Mr. Congreve, occasion'd by his Comedy called, The Way of the World.”)
- Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems. (1709.) 8°. (Edited by Fenton. Contains Steele's “Ode to the Duke of Marlborough.”)
- Pasquin. 1722-4. fol. (Two papers by Steele,—Nos. 46 and 51.)
- The Plebeian. To be continued Weekly. . . . By a Member of the House of Commons. 4 Nos. 1719. 4°.
- No. I. March 14, 1719. (Four or five editions published.)
- No. II. March 23, 1719. (Two editions.)
- No. III. March 30, 1719. (Four editions.)
- No. IV. April 6, 1719. (Four editions.)
- The Plebeians. Sixth edition. 1719. 8°. (Printed also in Bohn's edition of Addison's Works, Vol. 5.)
- Poetical Miscellanies, consisting of Original Poems and Translations. By the best Hands. Publish'd by Mr. Steele. 1714. 8°. (Published December 26-29, 1713.) This volume contains Steele's “To Mr. Congreve, occasion'd by his Comedy called, The Way of the World,” and “The Procession.” (Some copies are dated in error “MDDCXIV.”)
- 1727. Second edition. 8°.
- The Procession. A Poem on Her Majesties Funeral. By a gentleman of the Army. 1695. fol.
- The Protestant Packet. Jan. 1716. (Nichols, who had seen three numbers of this paper, says Steele doubtless helped in its production.)
- The Reader. 9 Nos. April 22 to May 10, 1714. fol. (For collected editions see “I.—Collection of Works—Essays, &c.”)
- A Prologue to the Town, as it was spoken at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields. Written by Mr. Welsted. With an Epilogue on the same occasion. By Sir Richard Steele. (Jan. 23.) 1721. fol. (Reprinted in Welsted's “Works.” 1787. 8°.)
- A Prologue to the University of Oxford, spoken by Mr. Wilks at the opening of the Theatre there. Written by Mr. Steele. Price 2d. (July 4.) 1706. (Advertised as published on July 4, 1706, but no copy appears to be known. The verses were reprinted in the “Muses Mercury” in 1707.)
- The Romish Ecclesiastical History of Late Years. By Richard Steele, Esq. (May 25.) 1714. 8°.
- L'Histoire ecclésiastique de Rome, translated by Sallengre. (Mentioned in Michaud's “Biographie Universelle,” but date not given.)
- A Select Collection of Poems, by J. Nichols. 8 vols. 1780. 12°.

- (iii. 71, 73-4, 237; iv. 1, 13, 14, 18-21; vii. 313; viii. 263, 294.)
- Sir Richard Steele's Account of Mr. Desaguliers' new-invented Chimneys. Printed for E. Curl. (Jan. 21, 1716.) "Given Gratis." (A "quarter of a sheet of paper." See *Town Talk*, Nos. 3 and 7.)
- Sir Richard Steele's Speech for repealing of the Triennial Act and his reasons for the Septennial Bill. As it was spoken in the House of Commons in answer to several speeches made against it, the 24th of April 1716. London printed, and reprinted in Dublin. 1716. 4°.
- The Spectator. 555 Nos. March 1, 1711, to December 6, 1712. fol. (These numbers are those given in the first seven volumes of the collected edition; Steele took no part in the subsequent papers, which formed an eighth volume.)
- 1712-3. 7 vols. 8°. (Some copies on royal paper, at one guinea a volume. See "Spectator," No. 227, folio, advertisement; and No. 547. Vols. 1 and 2, 1712; Vols. 3-7, 1713. Vol. 8 was added in 1715.)
- 1712-3. 7 vols. 12°. (Vols. 1 and 2, 1712; Vols. 3-7, 1713. Vol. 8 was added in 1715.)
- 1714. Second edition. 7 vols. 12°.
- 1714. Third edition. 7 vols. 12°.
- 1715-8. Le Spectateur. Amsterdam. 9 vols. 12°.
- 1716. Le Spectateur, trad. de l'anglois de Sir Richard Steele. Paris. 3 vols. 12°.
- 1718. Fourth edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1719. Le Spectateur, Ou Le Socrate Moderne, Ou l'on voit un Portrait naïf des Mœurs de ce Siècle. Traduit de l'anglois. Troisième édition. Amsterdam. 8 vols.
- 1720. Fifth edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1721. Le Spectateur. Amsterdam. 5 vols in 9. 12°.
- 1723. (September 27.) Sixth edition. 9 vols. 12°. (Vol. 9, Bond's continuation, was sold separately.)
- 1724. Seventh edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1724. "Seventh edition." 16 vols. 12°. (Printed for the use of authors and their friends; said never to have been on sale.)
- 1726. Eighth edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1728. With a Preface to the Spectators and Guardians never before published. Dublin, C. Grierson. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1729 (June 30). Ninth edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1729. Tenth edition. 8 vols. 12°.

- The Spectator. 1733. Eleventh edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1734. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1737. Le Spectateur, trad. de l'anglois. Basle. 6 vols. 12°.
- 1739. Twelfth edition. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1739-43. Der Zuschauer, Aus dem Engländischen übersetzt. Leipzig. 9 vols. 8°. (By Gottsched, &c.)
- 1741. Le Spectateur. Trad. de l'anglois. Amsterdam. 5 vols. 12°.
- 1743. De Spectator, of verezene Socrates. Uit het Engelsch vertaalt door A. G. and R. G. [Some volumes by P. le Clerc.] Third edition. Amsterdam. 9 vols. 12°.
- 1744. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1745. Glasgow. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1746-50. Le Spectateur, trad. de l'anglois. Amsterdam and Leipzig. 7 vols. 12°.
- 1747. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1747. 8 vols. 8°. (Large paper copies.)
- 1749. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1753. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1753. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1754. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1754-9. Le Spectateur, ou le Socrate moderne. Paris. 9 vols. 12°.
- 1755. Le Spectateur, ou le Socrate moderne. Paris. 3 vols. 4°.
- 1757. Der Zuschauer. Leipzig. 9 vols. 8°.
- 1757. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1757. Glasgow. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1758. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1761. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1761. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1763. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1765. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1766. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1766. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1767. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1768. Le Spectateur. Amsterdam. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1771. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1775. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1776. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1776. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1777. Dublin. 8 vols. 12°.

- The Spectator. 1778. Dublin. 8 vols. 12°.
- (1785). 8 vols. 12°.
- 1785. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1786. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1786. 2 vols. 8°.
- 1788. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1789. 8 vols. 8°. (Edited by Nichols.)
- 1789. 8 vols. Cr. 8°.
- 1791. Glasgow. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1793. 2 vols. 8°. (Harrison's "British Classics," Vols. 4, 5.)
- 1793-4. With notes and lives of the authors, by R. Bisset. 8 vols. 8°. (Large paper copies.)
- 1794. 8 vols. 12°. (Parson's "Select British Classics.")
- 1794. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1797. 8 vols. 8°. (Edited by Nichols. Large paper copies.)
- 1799. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1799. Newcastle. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1801. 8 vols. 8°. (Edited by Bisset.)
- 1802. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1802-9. Spectateur Anglois, avec le Texte Anglois à coté traduit par Mons. Guillard; et les Notes et Omissions du Spectateur Anglois, ou le Socrate Moderne, traduites et imprimées par G. E. J. Montmorency, Luynes. A. Dampierre. 7 vols. 4°.
- 1803. 8 vols. 8°. (Sharpe's "British Classics," Vols. 5-12. Large paper copies.)
- 1806. 8 vols. 8°. (Edited by A. Chalmers.)
- 1807. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1807. Berwick. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1808. 10 vols. 12°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 1-10.)
- 1810. 8 vols. 8°.
- 1811. 8°.
- 1812. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1812-3. 6 vols. 12°.
- 1813. 8°.
- 1815. 8 vols. 8°. (Sharpe's "British Classics," 2nd ed., Vols. 5-12.)
- 1816. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1816. Edinburgh. 8 vols. 12°.
- 1817. 10 vols. 12°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 6-15.)

- The Spectator. 1819. 8 vols. 12°. (J. Ferguson's "British Essayists," Vols. 5-12.)
- 1819. 8 vols. 8°. (Bumpus, &c.)
- 1819. 8 vols. 8°. (Allason.)
- 1820. 6 vols. 12°.
- 1822. 8°.
- 1822. 6 vols. 8°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 5-10.)
- 1823. 8 vols. 12°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 5-12.)
- 1823. 8 vols. 12°. (J. Ferguson's "British Essayists," 2nd ed., Vols 5-12.)
- 1823. 10 vols. 12°. (Rev. L. T. Berguer's "British Essayists," Vols. 6-15.)
- 1826 and 1832. 8°. (Jones' "British Classics.")
- 1827. 6 vols. 12°. (Rev. R. Lynam's "British Essayists," Vols. 4-9.)
- 1827. 8 vols. 8°. (Edited by N. Ogle.)
- 1828. 8°.
- 1832. 8°.
- 1839. 6 vols. 18°.
- 1840. 8°.
- 1841. 8°.
- 1843. 8°.
- 1846. 8°.
- 1847. 8°.
- 1850. 8°.
- 1852. 8°.
- 1853-4. 4 vols. 8°. (Bosworth's "Literature for the People.")
- 1854. New York. 6 vols. 8°. (Edited by Chalmers.)
- 1855. 8°.
- 1856. Boston, U.S.A. 8 vols. 8°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 5-12.)
- 1857. 8°.
- 1860. 8°.
- 1860. 4 vols. 8°.
- 1861. 8°.
- 1863. 8°.
- (1868). A new edition, reproducing the original text, both as first issued, and as corrected by its authors. With introduction, notes, and index. By Henry Morley. 8°. (Routledge's "Standard Library.") (Reprinted 1887 and 1888.)

- The Spectator. (? 1870.) 2 vols. 8°. (Routledge.)
 ——— 1876. 8°.
 ——— 1883. By Henry Morley. 3 vols. 8°.
- The Spinster: In Defence of the Woollen Manufactures. To be continued occasionally. Numb. I. (Anon.) (Dec. 19.) 1719. 8°.
- The State of the Case between the Lord-Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the opinions of Pemberton, Northey, and Parker, concerning the Theatre. By Sir Richard Steele. 1720. 8°.
 ——— 1720. Second edition. 8°.
- The Tatler. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. 271 Nos. April 12, 1709, to January 2, 1710 (1711). fol. (Two title-pages, "The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.," Vol. I., 1710, and Vol. II., 1711, were afterwards sold, together with the Dedications, Preface, and Indexes, to enable those who wished to bind up the papers to form a completed volume. There are slight differences in the setting up of the type of some numbers in different copies.)
 ——— February 1709(-10) to January 1711. 142 Nos. J. Watson, Edinburgh. fol. This is a reprint, of great rarity, of the London issue, but with local advertisements. The sheet is rather smaller than that used for the original numbers. This reprint appears to have been begun when No. 130 appeared, the Edinburgh edition being called "No. 1," and so on to the end. Each number was dated five or six days later than the corresponding London paper, to allow of the time occupied in transit and printing. Some copies were printed on paper considerably thicker than that used in the London issue; and it was announced that copies "printed on a fine writing paper" would be supplied to annual subscribers at the rate of 7s. sterling; and that no more fine paper copies would be printed than what were subscribed for. In my collection I have Nos. 62 to 74, and 97 to 142 of this Edinburgh issue; the only other specimen I know of is one (No. 100) in the Bodleian Library. I have also an Edinburgh reprint (Nos. 145 to 165) of some numbers of the continuations of the "Tatler" published in London by Harrison and others.
 ——— 1710. Dublin. 4°. (A reprint of the London issue, on two quarto leaves.)
 ——— 1710-11. 4 vols. 8°. (Medium paper, published at 10s. a volume; royal paper, published at one guinea a volume.)

See "Tatler," original. folio, No. 195, advertisement. Vols. 1 and 2 appeared in July 1710.)

- The Tatler. 1710-11. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1710. 12°. (100 Nos. in one volume ; pirated edition, by H. Hills and J. Baker.)
- 1712. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1713. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1713. Vols. 1 and 2. 8°. (Generally found with the 1711 editions of Vols. 3 and 4 ; but all the four volumes may have been reprinted in 1713.)
- 1716. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1720. 4 vols. 12°. Large paper. (A copy in the Dyce Collection, South Kensington Museum.)
- 1723. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1723. Le Babillard. Amsterdam. 2 vols. 12°. (Translated by Arnaud de la Chapelle.)
- 1725. Le Babillard. Amsterdam. 2 vols. 12°.
- 1726. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1728. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1733. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1733-52. De Snapper of de britsche Tuchtmeester. Door den Ridder Richard Steele. Uit het Engelsch vertaalt door P. le Clerc. Amsterdam. 4 vols. 16°.
- 1734-5. Le Babillard, ou le philosophe naturaliste. (By Arnaud de la Chapelle.) Amsterdam. 2 vols. 12°.
- 1737. Le Babillard. Amsterdam. Zurich. 2 vols. 12°.
- 1737. Le Babillard. Amsterdam. Basle. 2 vols. 12°.
- 1737. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1743. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1744. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1747. Glasgow. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1749. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1752. 4 vols. 16°.
- 1754. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1759. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1774. 4 vols. 12°.
- 1785. 8°. (Harrison's "British Classics," Vol. 3.)
- 1786. The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. A New edition, with Notes. (Edited by J. Nichols.) 6 vols. 8°.
- 1789. 4 vols. 8°. (Edited by J. Nichols.)
- 1794. 4 vols. 12°. (Parson's "Select British Classics.")
- 1797. Preface and notes by R. Bisset. 4 vols. 8°.

- The Tatler. 1797. 4 vols. 8°. (Edited by J. Nichols. Large paper copies.)
- 1803. 4 vols. 8°. (Edited by A. Chalmers.)
- 1804. 4 vols. 8°. (Sharpe's "British Classics," Vols. 1-4. Large paper copies.)
- 1806. 4 vols. 8°. (A corrected edition, by A. Chalmers.)
- 1808. 5 vols. 12°. (Chalmers.)
- 1814. 8°.
- 1815. 4 vols. 8°. (Sharpe's "British Classics," second edition, Vols. 1-4.)
- 1817. 5 vols. 12°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 1-5.)
- 1819. 4 vols. 12°. (J. Ferguson's "British Essayists," Vols. 1-4.)
- 1822. 4 vols. 8°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 1-4.)
- 1823. 4 vols. 12°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 1-4.)
- 1823. 4 vols. 12°. (J. Ferguson's "British Essayists," 2nd ed., Vols. 1-4.)
- 1823. 5 vols. 12°. (Rev. L. T. Berguer's "British Essayists," Vols. 1-5.)
- 1827. 3 vols. 12°. (Rev. R. Lynam's "British Essayists," Vols. 1-3.)
- 1828. 3 vols. 12°.
- (? 1830). 8°. ("Penny National Library," Vol. 2.)
- 1831. 3 vols. 12°.
- 1856. Boston, U.S.A. 4 vols. 8°. (Chalmers' "British Essayists," Vols. 1-4.)
- The Tea Table. 3 Nos. Feb.—March, 1716. (There were two editions of No. I. I have not seen any copy of this periodical.)
- The Tender Husband; Or, the Accomplish'd Fools. A Comedy. . . .
Written by Mr. Steele. (May 9.) 1705. 4°.
- 1711. 12°.
- 1712. 12°.
- 1717. 12°.
- 1731. Fifth edition. 12°.
- 1734. Sixth edition. 12°.
- 1735. 12°.
- 1740. Dublin. 12°.
- 1771. 12°.
- 1778. 12. (Bell's "British Theatre," Vol. 8.)
- 1779. 8°.
- 1787. 8°.
- 1791. 8°. (Bell's "British Theatre," Vol. 20.)
- 1799. 12°.

- The Tender Husband. 1811. 8°. ("The Modern British Drama." Vol. 4.—Comedies.)
 ——— 1818. 16°. (Dibdin's "London Theatre," Vol. 26.)
 ——— 1824 and 1826. 8°. (The "London Stage," Vol. 3.)
 ——— 1824 and 1853. 8°. (Jones' "British Drama," Vol. 2.)
 ——— (1884). 8°. (Dicks' "Standard Plays," No. 139.)
 The Theatre. By Sir John Edgar. 28 Nos. Jan. 2 to April 5, 1720. fol.
 Town-Talk, In a Letter to a Lady in the Country. 9 Nos. Dec. 17, 1715 to Feb. 13, 1716. 4°. (No. V., Jan. 13, 1715⁵, reached to five editions.)

 III.—SELECTIONS.

- Auszug des Englischen Zuschauers, nach einer neuen Uebersetzung. Berlin. 1782-3. 8 vols. 8°.
 Les Beautés du Spectateur, ou choix des morceaux les plus élégants, les plus instructifs, de cet ouvrage célèbre, et principalement de ceux écrits par Addison, en angl. et en franc. Paris. 1804. 12°.
 The Beauties of the Spectator. 1763. 2 vols. 12°.
 ——— 1787. 2 vols. 8°.
 The Beauties of the Spectator, Tatler, and Guardian, in English and French, by G. Harmonière. Paris. 1819. 2 vols. 12°.
 The Beauties of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians. 1773. 3 vols. 12°.
 A Collection from the Spectator, &c., for the benefit of English Schools. By J. Warden. Newcastle. 1761. 12°.
 Eighteenth Century Essays. By A. Dobson. 1882. 8°.
 Encyclopédie Morale, ou Choix des Essais du Spectateur, du Babilard et du Tuteur; traduits en français. . . . Par M. L. Mézières. Paris. 1826. 2 vols. 8°.
 Essays and Tales. By Richard Steele. 1888. 12°. (Cassell's "National Library," edited by Henry Morley, Vol. 133.)
 Extracts from Sir Richard Steele's Crisis, adapted to the present far more dangerous and important Crisis. 1746. 8°.
 Extracts of Remarkable Passages out of Mr. Steele's Writings. N. P. or D. (1714.) 4°.
 Der getreue Hofmeister, sorgfältige Vormund und neue Mentor, oder einige Discourse über die Sitten der gegenwärtigen Zeit, welche unter dem Namen des Guardians von Herrn Addison, Steele und andern Verfassern des Spectateurs aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Frankfort and Leipzig. 1725.

- Gems from the Spectator. Edinburgh. 1875. 12°.
- Histories, Fables, &c., from the Spectator and the Guardian. Fourth edition. 1753. 12°.
- Eighth edition. 1765. 12°.
- History, opinions, and lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, from the Tatler, by Steele and Addison; with introduction, notes, and illustrations, by H. R. Montgomery. 1861. 8°.
- Isaac Bickerstaff, Physician and Astrologer. Papers from Steele's "Tatler." 1887. 12°. (Cassell's "National Library," edited by Henry Morley, Vol. 64.)
- A Selection from the Spectator, for the use of Charter-House School. Second edition. 1827. 12°.
- Selections from the Spectator. Edited by T. Morrison, M.A. 1879. 8°.
- Selections from the Spectator. New York. 18°. (18—.) ("Harper's Family Library," v. 181.)
- Selections from the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and Freeholder, with preliminary Essay, by A. L. Barbauld. 1804. 3 vols. 12°.
- The Select Spectator; or, a Selection of Moral and Religious Papers from the Spectator, alphabetically arranged according to their subjects. Stourbridge. 1789. 2 vols. 8°.
- Sir Roger de Coverley, and other essays from the Spectator, Selected . . . by W. N. Dew. (Bell's Reading Books.) 1885. 12°.
- Sir Roger de Coverley and the Spectator's Club, by R. Steele and Jos. Addison. 1886. 12°. (Cassell's "National Library," edited by Henry Morley, Vol. 29.)
- Sir Roger de Coverley. By the Spectator. With Notes and Introduction. (By W. Henry Wills.) 1850. 8°.
- 1851. 8°. ("The Travellers' Library," Vol. 4.)
- 1856. 8°. ("The Travellers' Library," Vol. 22.)
- 1863. 8°.
- Sir Roger de Coverley. Consisting of the papers relating to Sir Roger which were originally published in the Spectator. With an introductory essay by John Habberton. New York. 1887. 8°. ("Select British Classics.")
- Sir Roger de Coverley; reprinted from the Spectator. With Illustrations by C. O. Murray. (1886.) 8°.
- The Spectator. (Choice Selections.) By the Rev. H. R. Haweis. 1886. 16°. (Routledge's "World Library.")
- The Spectator in Miniature; being a collection of papers from, &c. 1808. 2 vols. 18°.
- The Spectator. Selected Essays. By A. C. Ewald. 1887. 8°. ("Chandos Classics.")

- The Spirit of the British Essayists. 4 vols. 1812. 12°.
 ——— 1813. Second edition. 4 vols. 12°.
 ——— 1817. 6 vols. 12°.
- Steele. Selections from the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian, edited with Introduction and Notes, by Austin Dobson. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885. 8°.
- The Tatler. Selected Essays. By A. C. Ewald. 1888. 8°.
 ("Chandos Classics.")
- The Wisdom of our forefathers recommended to the present Times. [Being part of the "Crisis."] 1745. 8°.
- Wisdom, Wit, and Allegory, selected from the "Spectator." Edinburgh, 1864. 8°.
 ——— (1870.) 8°.
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IV.—APPENDIX.

(I.) BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM.

- Biographia Britannica, Art. "Steele."
- Dilke (C. W.).—Papers of a Critic. 1875. 2 vols. 8°.
- Dobson (Austin).—Richard Steele. 1886. 8°. ("English Worthies" Series.)
- Drake (Nathan, M.D.).—Essays, biographical, critical, and historical, illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian. 3 vols. 1805. 12°.
- F., T. C.—Abrégé de la vie de Monsieur le Chevalier Richard Steele. Amsterdam. 1767. 8°. (40 pages. A copy in the Royal Library, Berlin.)
- Forster (John).—Historical and Biographical Essays. 2 vols. 1858. 8°. (Vol. 2—"Sir Richard Steele.")
- Genest (Rev. John).—Some Account of the English Stage. Bath. 1832. 10 vols. 8°.
- Hartmann (H.).—Steele als Dramatiker. Kneiphöfische Mittelschule, Königsberg. 1880. 8°.
- Hazlitt (William).—Lectures on the English Comic Writers. 1819. 8°.
- Hunt (Leigh).—A Book for a Corner. 1849. 8°. (Vol. ii. 39-79.)
- Kawczyński (Von Max).—Studien zur Literaturgeschichte des xviii^{ten} Jahrhunderts. Moralische Zeitschriften.—I. Einleitung und Verzeichniss der engl. deutsch. franz. u. a. mor. Zeitschriften.—II. Ueber den Tatler. Leipzig. 1880. 8°.
- Minto (William).—Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth edition. Art. "Steele."

- Montgomery (Henry R.).—Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Richard Steele, Soldier, Dramatist, Essayist, and Patriot, with his correspondence, and notices of his Contemporaries, the Wits and Statesmen of Queen Anne's Time. Edinburgh. 1865. 2 vols. 8°.
- Regel (Ernst).—Thackeray's Lectures on the English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century, mit bibliographischem Material, litterarischer Einleitung und sachlichen Anmerkungen für Studierende.—III. Steele. Halle. 1886. 8°.
- Ricken (Wilhelm).—Bemerkungen über Anlage und Erfolg der wichtigsten Zeitschriften Steeles und den Einfluss Addisons auf die Entwicklung derselben. Oberrealschule, Elberfeld. 1885. 8°.
- Thackeray (W. M.).—The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century. 1853. 8°. (Lecture the Third—"Steele.")
- The History of Henry Esmond, Esq. 1852. 3 vols. 8°.
- Thomson (Mrs. K.).—Celebrated Friendships. 1861. 8°. (Vol. I. 229-293—"Addison and Steele.")
- Tuckerman (H. T.).—Characteristics. Second series, 38-55. Philadelphia. 1851. 8°.
- Vetter (Theodor).—Der Spectator als Quelle der "Discurse der Maler." Frauenfeld. 1887. 8°.
- Ward (A. W.).—English Dramatic Literature. 1875. 2 vols. 8°.

NOTE.—It is not necessary to extend this list by specially mentioning the general authorities upon the history and literature of the period, or the works and lives of Steele's contemporaries. The following books may, however, be briefly noticed :—

- Addisoniana. 1803.
- Spence's Anecdotes. 1820.
- Nichols' Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, and Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century.
- Victor's Original Letters, &c. 1776.
- Luttrell's Diary. 1857.
- Letters of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. 1875.
- The Wentworth Papers. 1883.
- Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, LL.D., Lord Bishop of Derry, to Mrs. Barbara Sandys. 1789.
- Butler's Life of Bishop Hildesley. 1799.
- Spurrell's Carmarthen and its Neighbourhood. 1879.
- C. J. Smith's Historical and Literary Curiosities. 1840.

(2.) MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

- Academy. Oct. 10, 1885; Sept. 25, 1886.
 All the Year Round. Dec. 5, 1868; Sept. 1883.
 Antiquary. Dec. 1885 and Jan. 1886.
 Athenæum. Jan. 5, 1856; Sept. 9, 1865; July 5, 1884; Sept. 20, 1884; Feb. 14, 1885; Sept. 26, 1885; May 1, 1886; Sept. 4, 1886.
 Blackwood's Magazine, xcix. 726. (Reprinted in "Littell's Living Age," Vol. 90.)
 Colburn's Magazine, clxi. 333.
 Cornhill Magazine, Vol. 34, p. 408. (Reprinted in the "Revue Britannique," March 1877.)
 Eclectic Review. 1812.
 Examiner. Oct. 7, 1865.
 Gentleman's Magazine, passim.
 London Magazine, Vols. 12, 18, 24, 25.
 London Reader. Nov. 4, 1865.
 Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica. June 1874.
 Month. 1868, ix. 494, 558.
 Monthly Review. First series, Vols. 76, 78, 80, 81; enlarged series, Vols. 2, 7, 50, 52, 64.
 Nation. Oct. 14, 1886.
 New Monthly Magazine. New series. Vol. xii. 1877.
 North American Review, Vols. x., xlvi., cviii.
 Notes and Queries, passim. (See General Indexes.)
 Quarterly Review. March 1855. (Mr. Forster's essay first appeared in this number in the form of a review upon Macaulay's "Life and Writings of Addison." Reprinted in "Littell's Living Age," Vol. 45, and in part in the "Eclectic Magazine," New York, Vol. 36.)
 Reader. Sept. 9, 1865.
 Revue Contemporaine. 1857.
 Saturday Review. Dec. 16, 1865; Oct. 31, 1885; Aug. 28, 1886.
 Southern Literary Messenger (Richmond, U.S.A.), xv. 65. (By H. T. Tuckerman.)
 Spectator. Sept. 23, 1865; March 29, April 5, 12, 19, and 26, 1884. (Four letters from A. C. Swinburne.) Nov. 28, 1885; Oct. 30, 1886; March 2, 1886.
 Temple Bar, xxxiv. 518; xl. 103. (Reprinted in "Littell's Living Age," Vols. 113 and 120.)
 Walford's Antiquarian. Oct. 1885.

(3.) PAMPHLETS, &C., RELATING TO STEELE.

NOTE.—This list contains chiefly the titles of the principal contemporary pamphlets relating to Steele. Many others, in which there are allusions to him of little importance, I have not thought it necessary to mention. Most of these pieces were published anonymously, and they are arranged alphabetically; but entries are also made under the author's name, when that is known. At the end is a list of books dedicated to Steele.

- An Account of the Public Debts at the Exchequer, as they now stand. . . . To which is added, Seasonable Observations on the Annuities, In answer to Sir Richard Steele's Crisis. 1720. fol. Addison (Joseph).—See "Old Whig."
- The Adventures of Rivella; or the History of the Author of the Atalantis. 1714. 8°.
- Annotations on the Tatler, written originally in French, by Mons. Bournelle, and translated into English by Walter Wagstaff, Esq. (W. Oldisworth.) 2 Parts. (Sep.) 1710. 12°.
- Another Letter from a Country-Whig to Richard Steele, Esq.; on his Defence of his Guardian, August the 7th. (Nov. 14-17.) 1713. 8°.
- An Answer to a whimsical pamphlet, call'd, The Character of Sir John Edgar, &c. By "Timothy Rag." (Feb. 11.) 1720. 8°.
- The Anti-Theatre. By Sir John Falstaffe. 15 Nos. 1720. fol.
- Les Aventures, ou, La Vie et les Voyages de Robinson Crusoe, Traduction libre de cet Ouvrage anglois attribué au célèbre Richard Steele. Frankfort and Leipzig. 1769. 2 vols. 12°. (A note to the Preface says that "Robinson Crusoe" appeared in 1719; "on l'attribue à Richard Steele, l'un des écrivains du Spectateur"!—Appended to this abridgment of "Robinson Crusoe" is a similar abridgment, in two volumes, of the "Nouveau Robinson, Chevalier de Kilpar," "attribué au célèbre Monsieur Fielding"!—Another edition of "Robinson Crusoe," "Nouvelle imitation de l'Anglois, par M. Feutry," had been published in 1766 at Amsterdam, in two volumes, with the same note about Steele in the Preface as in the 1769 edition.)
- Bickerstaff (Isaac) (pseud.)—This name was attached to many anonymous pieces, having no connection with Steele, including "A Letter to . . . Dr. Sacheverell," 1709, 8°; "Letter to the tongue-loosed Doctor [Sacheverell]," 1713, 8°; "The Popish Courant," (1714), s. sh. fol.; "A Good Husband for five shillings," 1710, 8°. See, too, below, "Bickerstaff's Almanack

for the year 1710;" "The British Visions;" "A Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff;" "Predictions for the year 1708;" "Predictions for the year 1712."

Bickerstaff's Almanack . . . for the year 1710. 1710. 8°.

Bicknell (Mrs.) The famous history of the whimsical Mr. Spectator. . . . Edinburgh. N.D. 12°.

Brief Reflections on Sir Richard Steele's Large Dedication to the Pope, and his Preface to a book intituled, An Account of the State of the Roman-Catholick Religion throughout the World. By D. P., a Country Curate. 1715. 8°.

The British Censor. A Poem. 1712. 4°.

The British Visions: Or, Isaac Bickerstaff, Sen. Being Twelve Prophecies for the Year 1711. 1711. 8°.

The Case of Richard Steele, Esq.; being an Impartial Account of the Proceedings against him. In a Letter to a Friend. 1714. 8°.

—— Second edition. 1714. 8°.

The Censor Censured; Or, the Conscious Lovers Examined: In a dialogue between Sir Dicky Marplot and Jack Freeman. Into which Mr. Dennis is introduced by way of postscript; with some observations on his late Remarks. 1723. 8°.

The Character of Richard Steele, Esq.; with some Remarks. By Toby, Abel's Kinsman. . . . (Nov. 10-12.) 1713. 8°.

—— 1713. (Nov. 14.) Second edition, corrected. 8°.

—— 1713. (Dec. 5-8.) Third edition. 8°.

—— 1713. 8°. (Spurious and abridged edition, by R. Marthard, with woodcut instead of copper-plate portrait.)

—— 1714. (March 16-18.) Fourth edition. 8°. (Printed in the "Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe," 1726.)

The Character of the Tatler. [1710.] s. sh. folio.

The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, call'd by himself Sole Monarch of the Stage in Drury Lane; and his Three Deputy-Governors. In Two Letters to Sir John Edgar. (By John Dennis.) 1720. 8°.

—— Second edition. 1720. 8°.

The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, and his Three Deputy-Governors. During the Administration of the late Separate Ministry. In a Third and Fourth Letter to the Knight. With a Picture of Sir John, Drawn by a Pen, exactly after the Life. (By John Dennis.) 1720. 8°.

A Comparison between the two Stages, with . . . some critical remarks on the Funeral . . . and others. (April 14.) 1702. 12°. (Attributed to Charles Gildon.)

- A Complaint from the Church of England to the House of Commons, against the public Assault of Sir Richard Steele. . . . 1715. (Advertised, but no copy seen.)
- A Condoling Letter to the Tattler: on account of the misfortunes of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; a prisoner in the — on suspicion of Debt. (Sep. 1710.) 8°.
- Court and City. A Comedy. Adapted from scenes in Sir Richard Steele's "Tender Husband" and Mrs. Frances Sheridan's "Discovery," by Richard Brinsley Peake, Esq., Member of the Dramatic Authors' Society. (Cumberland's "British Theatre," Vol. 42, 1829, &c., 12°.)
 ——— (1885.) (Dicks' "Standard Plays," No. 655.)
- The Court of Honour, or the laws, rules, and ordinances established for the suppression of duels in France. . . . With some observations by Sir Richard Steele. 1720. 8°. (Quotation from the "Theatre," No. 20.)
- Cowper (William, Earl).—See "A Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff."
- The Crisis of Honesty. Being an answer to the Crisis of Property. In a Letter to Sir R—— S—— (March.) 1720. 8°.
- Crisis upon Crisis: a Poem; being an advertisement stuck in the Lion's Mouth at Button's, and addressed to Dr. S——t. (April.) 1714. 8°.
- Croxall (Samuel).—See "Original Canto of Spencer."
- Davis (N. D.).—See "Spectator's Essays relating to the West Indies."
- A Defence of Drinking to the Pious Memory of King Charles I. By Richard Steele, Esq. [pseud.] London, and Dublin reprinted. 1714. 8°.
- A Defence of Mr. Steele, in a Letter to a Friend in the Country. (Signed "Thomas Staines.") 1714. 8°. (Dated March 25.)
- A Defence of Sir Foppling Flutter, a Comedy written by Sir George Etheridge . . . By J. Dennis. (Nov. 2.) 1722. 8°.
- A Defence of the Church . . . against Sir Richard Steele. (By "Philo-Templo-Basileus.") 1715. 8°.
- A Defence of the Crisis, written by Mr. Steele. 1714. 4°.
- Dennis (John).—See "Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar;" "Defence of Sir Foppling Flutter;" "John Dennis the sheltering poet's invitation;" "Original Letters;" "Remarks on a Play called The Conscious Lovers;" "Remarks upon several passages in the preliminaries to the Dunciad;" "The State of the Case," &c.
- A dialogue between A. and B., containing some remarks upon Mr. Steele's Letter to the Englishman. Being a Supplement to the Examiner. (Oct. 15-17.) 1713. 8°.

- A dialogue between Jacob Broad and the late Nestor Ironside, in relation to building; the first plainly proves that in some cases it's lawful to untile a house; and the other proves, that in other cases it's as lawful to get into it, provided he pays the Bayliff. 1713. (Advertised, but no copy seen.)
- Dyer (Robert).—See "An Epistle humbly addressed to the Honourable Mrs. Elizabeth Trevor."
- The Ecclesiastical and Political History of Whig-Land, of Late Years; . . . By John Lacy, Esq. (July.) 1714. 8°.
- An Epistle humbly addressed to the Honourable Mrs. Elizabeth Trevor, daughter of the late Sir Richard Steele, upon her marriage with the Honourable John Trevor, Esq., son to the Right Honourable Thomas, late Lord Trevor. By Robert Dyer. 1732. 4°.
- An Epistle of Yarrico to Inkle; a poem. Glasgow. 1850. 8°.
- 1771. Dublin. 8°.
- Epistle to Mr. Steele, on the King's Accession. By Mr. Welsted. (Nov.) 1714. fol.
- An Epistle to Sir Richard Steele, on his Play, called The Conscious Lovers. By B. Victor. (Nov. 29.) 1722. 8°.
- 1722. (Dec. 4.) Second edition, corrected, with the addition of the Epilogue spoken by Mrs. Oldfield, not printed with the Conscious Lovers. 8°.
- The Equity of Parliaments, and Publick Faith Vindicated. In Answer to the Crisis of Property. By Sir John Meres, F.R.S. 1720. 8°.
- 1720. Second edition, corrected. 8°.
- Essays Divine, Moral, and Political. (May.) 1714. 8°.
- The Examiner. 1710–1714. fol. (Numerous references to Steele.)
- The Examiner Examined. In a Letter to the Englishman. Occasioned by the Examiner of Friday, Dec. 18, 1713. Upon the Canto of Spenser. (Dec. 23.) 1713. 4°.
- The False Alarm: Or, Remarks upon Mr. Steele's Crisis. 1714. 4°.
- Familiar Letters of Love, Gallantry, and several Occasions, by . . . Sir R—— S——, &c. (May.) 1718. 2 vols. 12°.
- The Female Manufacturers' Complaint: . . . with a Respectful Epistle to Sir R—— S——l concerning some omissions of the utmost importance in his Lady's Wardrobe. By Monsieur de Brocade of Paris. (Jan. 9.) 1720. 8°.
- The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace paraphras'd: And Addressed to Richard St——le, Esq. (By Swift.) (Jan. 6–7.) 1714. 4°.
- The Friendly Couriere. Numb. I. (Signed G. H.) 1711. 8°.

- A Full Account of the Proceedings in the Last Session of Parliament, against Richard Steele, Esq.; with a defence of his Writings. In a Letter to His Excellency the Earl of N——tt ——m. 1714. 8°.
- A full Vindication of the Religion, Wisdom, and Justice of King George, from the base and malicious Insinuations of one Sir Richard Steele in a Letter to Pope Clement XI. 1715. (Advertised, but no copy seen.)
- Gay (John).—See "Present State of Wit."
- A General Index to the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians. 1757. 12°.
- 1760. Second edition. 12°.
- The Gentleman's Library, containing rules for conduct in all Parts of Life. Written by a Gentleman. 1715. 12°. (Other editions in 1722, 1734, 1744, 1760; Dutch version published at Amsterdam in 1764. Written in consequence of the success of the Ladies Library.)
- Gildon (Charles).—See "Comparison between the two Stages."
- Gulliveriana: Or, a Fourth Volume of Miscellanies. 1728. 8°. (An attack on Swift and Pope. Contains a reprint of several of the pamphlets against Steele published in 1713-5.)
- Hoffman (Francis).—See "Two very odd Characters."
- The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated and Defended against the unexampled Insolence of the Author of the Guardian. In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele. (Aug. 13-15.) 1713. 8°.
- Second edition. (Sept.) 1713. 8°.
- The Hudibrastic Brewer. (Sept.-Oct.) 1714. 8°.
- A Hue and Cry after Dr. S——t. 1714. 8°.
- An Impartial Enquiry into the value of South Sea Stock. With some thoughts of the occasion of the present decay of Trade and Credit: And some means proposed for restoring the same. In a Letter to Sir Richard Steele, Knt. (Signed "A. B.") 1720. fol.
- The Importance of Penknives considered. In a Letter to the Bayliff of Ipswich, occasioned by the fragments of Count Guiscard, as also an anatomical discourse, wherein some mistakes of the modern anatomists are corrected; and the Throat and Ears are proved to be situate in the same place, being the Sequel to the Letter, written for his own private use, and now published for the benefit of the public. By a Barrister of the Inner Temple. (Oct. 8-10.) 1713. (Advertised, but no copy known.)

- The Importance of the Guardian considered, in a Second Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge. By a Friend of Mr. St . . le. (Swift.) (Oct. 29-31.) 1713. 4°.
- 1713. 8°.
- Inkle and Yarrico, a tale attempted in veres (*sic*), by the Right Honourable the Countess of ——. 1738. fol.
- Instructions to a Painter. 1713. (Not seen. In Henry Needler's Works is an "Epigram occasioned by reading an insipid satire against Sir Richard Steele, intitled, Instructions to a Painter. Written extempore, in the year 1713.")
- The Instructive Library. . . . By a Friend of the Author of the Tale of a Tub. Dedicated to Isaac Bickerstaffe, Esq. 1710. 8°.
- An Invitation to Peace ; or, Toby's Preliminaries to Nestor Ironsides, set forth in a dialogue between Toby and his Kinsman. (1714.) 8°.
- Jack the Courtier's Answer to Dick the Englishman's close of the Paper so call'd. As also to the familiar epistle sent him to Windsor : With a congratulatory address to the Author R—— S——, Esq., upon the late success of his first compliment in St Stephen's Chapel, at the choice of Sir T—— H——re for Sp——r. 1714. 4°.
- Jacob (Giles).—See "Memoirs of . . . Addison."
- John Dennis the sheltering Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele, the secluded Party writer and Member, to come and live with him in the Mint. (April.) 1714. 4°.
- John Tutchin's Ghost to Richard St——le, Esq., discovering something omitted by Mr. Toby. (Dec. 5-8.) 1713. 8°.
- 1714. 4°.
- Lacy (John) [?pseud].—See "Ecclesiastical and Political History of Whig-Land ;" "Steeleids."
- A Letter from an English Tory to his friend in Town. Chiefly occasioned by the several reflections on Mr. Steele's Guardian of August the 7th. 1713. 8°.
- A Letter from Dick Estcourt, the Comedian, to the Spectator. 1713. 8°. (Dated "Brandipolis, Octob. 1712").
- A Letter from Mr. Jacob Bickerstaff, Nephew to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., Occasioned by the death of Queen Anne. To a Gentleman in Holland. (Aug. 19.) 1714. 4°.
- Second edition. (Sep.) 1714.
- A Letter from Signior Benedetto Baldassarii of the Haymarket, to Sir R——d S——e of Drury Lane. (March 16.) 1720. (No copy seen.)
- A Letter from the Facetious Doctor Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to his

loving brother the profound Greshamite. . . . With an Appendix concerning the application of Socrates his clyster, and the use of clean linen in controversy. 1719. 8°. (See "Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe," below.)

A Letter from the Facetious Doctor Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to the Venerable Nestor Ironside. (Feb. 16.) 1714. 8°. (Dated at end, "Bath, Nov. 16, 1713." This pamphlet is entirely different from "A Letter from the Facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to his loving brother the profound Greshamite.")

A Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., occasioned by the Letter to the Examiner. 1710. 8°. (By William, Lord Cowper. Reprinted in Somers' "Tracts," 1751, 4th collection, iv. 5, and second edition, xiii. 75.)

A Letter to Mr. Steele, concerning his Crisis. Edinburgh. 1714. 8°.

A Letter to Mr. Steele, concerning the removal of the Pretender from Lorrain, occasion'd by the Crisis. Written by an Englishman. (Signed "Tim. Tomkins.") N.D. 8°.

A Letter to Mr. Steele, occasioned by his Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Bill for preventing the growth of Schism. Written by a member of the Church of England. (June 21.) 1714. 8°.

A Letter to Richard Steele, Esq. (Signed "Philo Basilius," April 17, 1714.) 1715. 8°.

A Letter to the Guardian, about Dunkirk. (1713.) s. sh. folio.

A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S. concerning his Remarks on the Pretender's Declaration. (Feb. 2.) 1716. 4°.

—— Second edition. 1716. 4°.

A Libel on Dr. D——y. By Swift. 1730. 8°.

The Life of Cato the Censor. Humbly dedicated to R. S——le, Esq. (Signed "Daniel Doggrel.") (Feb. 4-6.) 1714. 8°.

Lillie (Charles).—See "Original and Genuine Letters sent to the Tatler and Spectator."

The Linen Spinster, in Defence of the Linen Manufactures, &c. . . . Number I. By Jenny Distaff. 1720. 8°.

Llangunnor Hill (Anon.) Carmarthen. 1794. 8°.

Macauley (E. W.).—See "Tales of the Drama."

Manley (Mrs. de la Rivière).—See "Adventures of Rivella;" "Secret Memoirs and Manners," &c.; "Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy," &c.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Hon. Joseph Addison, Esq.; with his character. By Sir Richard Steele. By G. J[acob]. 1719. 8°.

—— Second edition. 1724. 8°.

- Memoirs of the Life of the Most Noble Thomas, late Marquess of Wharton. . . . To which is added His Lordship's Character, by Sir Richard Steele. (*I.e.*, the Dedication of the fifth volume of the Spectator.) 1715. 8°.
- Meredith (Royston).—See "Mr. Steele Detected."
- Meres (Sir John).—See "Equity of Parliaments," &c.
- The Miscarriages of the Whig-Ministry. . . . To which is added, A true and exact list of those Members, who, to their great dishonour, voted against the expulsion of Mr. Stele (*sic.*). . . . Third edition. 1714. 8°.
- Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe. 1726. 8°. (Includes "The Character of Richard St—le, Esq.," fourth edition; "A letter from the facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to his loving brother the profound Greshamite," second edition; and "The Plain Dealer.")
- Mitchell (Joseph).—"See Monument."
- The Moderator. Numb. I. To be continued Occasionally. (April 4.) 1719. 4°. (No more appeared.)
- A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed by a Certain Sett of People, upon the Spreading of a Report of Her Majesty's Death. (By Mrs. Manley.) (February 2-4.) 1714. 8°.
- The Mohocks: A Poem, in Miltonic Verse, address'd to the Spectator. 1712. 8°.
- The Monument; or, the Muse's motion to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, . . . upon occasion of the Death of Sir Richard Steele, Knt. 1729. fol. (By Joseph Mitchell. See also Mitchell's "Poems," 1729, i. 85, 313; ii. 255.)
- The Mottoes in Five Volumes of the Tatler and to the Two Volumes of Spectators, Latin and English. To which is added two complete Tables to the two volumes of Spectators. 1712. 12°.
- The Mottoes to the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians, translated into English. Second edition. 1737. 8°.
- The Mottoes to the Two Volumes of Guardians, translated into English. 8°. 1713. (A few copies were printed on royal paper, to bind up with the royal paper edition of the Guardian. See Englishman, No. 26, folio, advertisement.)
- 1713. 12°.
- Mr. Steele Detected: Or, the poor and oppressed Orphan's Letters to the great and Arbitrary Mr. Steele; Complaining of the great injustice done to the publick in general, and to himself in particular, by the Ladies' Library; publish'd by Mr. Steele.

- Together with Mr. Steele's Answers; and some just Reflections on them. (November.) 1714. 8°. (By Royston Meredith.)
- National Debt . . . in Answer to The Crisis. 1720. fol.
- A new Epilogue to the Conscious Lovers. Spoken in Dublin, 13 May, 1724. Dublin. 1724. s. sh. folio.
- Notes and Extracts relating to the Lion's Head, which was erected at Button's Coffee-House, in the year 1713. By Charles Richardson, Esq. 1828. 8°.
- Observations upon Cato, a Tragedy. By Mr. Addison. In a letter to * * * [Reprints at end "A Comparison between Cato and Cæsar; By Mr. Steele."] 1713. 4°.
- Oldisworth (W.).—See "Annotations on the Tatler."
- The Old Whig; or, the State of the Peerage, with remarks upon the Plebeian. No. 1, March 19, 1719. No. 2, April 2, 1719. 4°. (By Addison.)
- Numb. 1 and 2. Third edition. 1720. 8°.
- An Original Canto of Spencer: Design'd as part of his Faery Queen, but never printed. Now made publick. By Nestor Ironside, Esq. 1714. 4°. (Published at end of November 1713. By the Rev. Samuel Croxall.)
- 1714. Second edition. 8°. (Published at beginning of December 1713.)
- Original and Genuine Letters sent to the Tatler and Spectator. Edited by C. Lillie. 1725. 2 vols. 8°. (Large paper copies.)
- Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical. By Mr. Dennis. 2 vols. 1721. 8°.
- Orpheus Redivivus: A Poem on the Irish Harp, with an Encomium on the Famous Mr. Morpheus's Performance there. By Sir Richard Steel. Corke: Printed by A. Welsh. s. sh. fol. (A copy of this broadside, wroughly printed in red, in among the Blenheim papers, together with a letter from "A. B.," 26 March, 1723, announcing that these verses had been published that day "under too great a Name for such poetry, wch. I think but justice to acquaint you of.")
- The Patrician. . . . In answer to the Plebeian. 4 Nos. 1719. 4°.
- Peake (R. B.).—See "Court and City."
- Predictions for the Year 1708. . . . By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. 1708. 4°. (By Swift. This was the first of a series of attacks upon John Partridge and the astrological almanack makers. It was followed by other pieces by various writers, but the authorship is uncertain.)
- 1708. 8°.
- Predictions for the Year 1712. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. 1712. 8°.

- The Present State of Wit. In a Letter to a Friend in the Country. (Signed J. G., *i.e.*, Gay.) 1711. 8°. (Dated May 3.)
- The Projector, or Remarker remark'd. A Poem in Burlesque. Occasion'd by a just resentment the author conceiv'd at the Remarker's pirating Esq. Bickerstaff's Works. (March 1-3) 1710. (Advertised, but not seen.)
- A Prologue [and Epilogue] to the Conscious Lovers, spoken on 7th March 1722[-3], when played at the request of the young Gentlemen of the College, Dublin. Dublin. 1723. s. sh. folio.
- A Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English tongue. (By Swift.) 1712. 8°.
- The Public Spirit of the Tories. (March 18, 1714.) 4°. (Attack on Swift and Oldisworth.)
- The Public Spirit of the Whigs: Set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author of the Crisis. With some observations on the seasonableness, candour, erudition, and style of that Treatise. (By Swift.) (February 20-23.) 1714. 4°.
- Third edition, corrected. (March.) 1714. 12°.
- Rag (Timothy) [pseud.].—See "An Answer to a whimsical pamphlet."
- Reasons concerning the immediate demolishing of Dunkirk. 1713. 8°.
- Reflections on a Paper lately printed, entitled, A Letter to Sir Miles Wharton, Concerning Occasional Peers. 1713. 8°.
- Remarks on a Play, call'd, The Conscious Lovers, A Comedy. By Mr. Dennis. (January 25.) 1723. 8°.
- Remarks on Mr. Steele's Crisis, &c. By one of the Clergy. In a Letter to the Author (signed B. R.). (Jan. 23-26.) 1714. 4°.
- Edinburgh. 1714. 8°.
- Remarks upon Mr. Steele's Crisis, humbly inscrib'd to the Clergy of the Church of England. (January 30 to February 2.) 1714. 4°.
- Remarks upon the Truth, Design, and Seasonableness of Sir Richard Steele's Dedication to the Pope, To which is prefixed, A Dedication to the said Knight, in the same style and manner. 1715. 8°. (Dedication signed "T. B.")
- Remarks upon several passages in the preliminaries to the Dunciad. . . . With . . . letters from Sir Richard Steele, &c. By John Dennis. 1729. 8°.
- Resistance and Non-Resistance stated and decided: In a dialogue between a Hotspur-High-Flyer, a Canting-Low-Churchman, and B[ickerstaff], Censor of Great Britain. (No title.) 1710. 8°.
- Richardson (Charles).—See "Notes and extracts relating to the Lion's Head."
- Scandal no Argument. An Oxford Annuitant's Letter to Sir Richard Steele. In Answer to the Crisis of Honesty. (March.) 1720. 8°.

- Schism destructive of the Government. By G. Sewell. 1714. 8°.
 —— Second edition. 1714. 8°.
- Seasonable Reflections on the Annuities, in answer to Sir Richard Steele's Crisis. 1720. (Given in Boyer's "Political State" for March 1720.)
- Second Remarks upon Mr. Steele's Crisis. Edinburgh. 1714. 8°.
- A second Whig Letter, from William Prynne to Nestor Ironside, Esq. (September 22-24.) 1713. 8°.
- Secret Memoirs and Manners of several Persons of Quality, of both Sexes, from the New Atlantis. (By Mrs. Manley.) 1709, &c. 4 vols. 8°.
- Sewell (George).—See "Schism destructive of the Government;" "Sir Richard Steele's Recantation."
- Sir Richard Steele, and his new Comedy, called, The Conscious Lovers, vindicated from the malicious aspersions of Mr. John Dennis. Wherein Mr. Dennis's vile criticisms in defence of Sir Fopling Flutter are detected and exposed, and the author of them proved to know nothing of criticism. 1723. 8°. (Published December 11-13, 1722.)
- Sir Richard Steele's Recantation: Prov'd in A Letter of Thanks from his Holiness Pope Clement XI. . . . With a copy of Verses added. By Mr. Sewell. 1715. 8°.
- Some Memoirs of the Life of Abel, Toby's Uncle. By Dr. Andrew Tripe. . . . 1726. 8°.
- The Spectator inspected. 1711. 8°.
- The Spectator's Essays relating to the West Indies. By N. Dornell Davis. Demerara. 1885. 8°.
- A Speech suppos'd to be spoke by R—— St——, Esq., at the opening this present Parliament, with some Remarks in a Letter to the Bailiff of St——dge, very proper to be bound up with the Crisis. (February 23-25.) 1714. 4°.
- A Spy upon the Spectator. 1711. 8°.
- Staines (Thomas).—"See Defence of Mr. Steele."
- The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and Sir Richard Steele, as represented by that Knight. Restated, in Vindication of King George, and the Most Noble the Duke of Newcastle. (April 7-9.) 1720. 8°.
- Steele (Richard) [pseud.].—See "A Defence of Drinking," "Observations upon Cato," "Orpheus Redivivus," and "Tyburn's courteous invitation."
- The Steeleids, or the Tryal of Wit. A poem, in three cantos, by John Lacy, Esq. (July 31 to August 3.) 1714. 8°.

- Swift (Dr. Jonathan).—See “Examiner;” “First Ode of the Second Book of Horace paraphrased;” “Importance of the Guardian considered;” “Libel on Dr. D—y;” “Predictions for the Year 1708;” “Proposal for correcting . . . the English Tongue;” “Public Spirit of the Whigs.”
- Tales of the Drama. Founded on comedies of Steele, &c. By Miss E. W. Macauley. 1822. 8°. (Tale from the “Conscious Lovers.”)
- The Tatler’s Character (July 21) of Æsculapius guessing Diseases, without the knowledge of Drugs, applied to the British Physicians and Surgeons. 1709. 8°.
- The Three Champions. [1711?] s. sh. folio. (Heads representing Bickerstaff, the Review, and the Observator.)
- Tomkins (Tim.) [? pseud.].—See “Letter to Mr. Steele, concerning the Removal of the Pretender.”
- A Town Eclogue: Or, a Poetical Contest between Toby and a Minor Poet of B—t—n’s Coffee-House. [June 1714.] 8°.
- Two Very Odd Characters tho’ the Number be Even. . . . (By Francis Hoffman.) 1714. 4°.
- Tyburn’s courteous invitation to W. Wood, Esq., written by Mr. Shippen. Wood’s melancholy complaint, by Sir R—d S—le. (Dublin, 1725.) s. sh. folio.
- Victor (Benjamin).—See “Epistle to Sir Richard Steele.”
- A Vindication of Sir Richard Steele, against a pamphlet intituled, A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S. concerning his Remarks on the Pretender’s Declaration. (Feb. 18.) 1716. 8°.
- Wagstaffe (William).—See “Character of Richard St—le, Esq.,” “A Letter from the Facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to his loving brother the profound Greshamite,” and “Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe.”
- Welsted (Leonard).—See “Epistle to Mr. Steele.”

BOOKS DEDICATED TO STEELE.

- Asplin (Rev. W.)—Alkibla. A disquisition upon worshipping towards the East. 1728. 8°. (The dedication to Steele is mentioned in a reply, The Kebla, by Rev. John Andrews. 1728.)
- Cibber (C.)—Ximena, or The Heroic Daughter. A Tragedy. 1719. 8°.
- The Epistles of Clio and Strephon. 1720. 8°. (Dedicated to Steele.)

- The Epistles of Clio and Strephon. Second edition. 1729. 12°. (Dedicated to Mrs. Judith Bond; Steele mentioned, pp. xx., xxi.)
- Epistolarum obscurorum Virorum. 2 vols. 1710. 8°. (Edited by M. Maittaire.) (Dedicated to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.)
- The History of the First and Second Session of the Last Parliament. . . . By G. F. Gent. (1714.) 8°.
- Ingenious and diverting Letters of a Lady's [Countess Daunois] Travels into Spain. Eighth edition. 1717. 8°. (Dedicated to Steele. The seventh edition, 1708, was dedicated by Samuel Crouch to Dahl.)
- The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton. (Sept.) 1710. 8°.
- Love Verses, by an Officer in the Duke of Argyle's Army. With an Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Richard Steele. (March 9.) 1716.
- Manley (Mrs.).—Lucius. (See "I.—Single Works.")
- Parnell (Thomas).—Madam Dacier's Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Account of Homer, prefix'd to his Translation of the Iliad. Made English from the French, and addressed to Sir Richard Steele. (Feb. 10.) 1724. (Curl.)
- Scurlock (Rev. David, M.A.).—Public Virtue the only Preservative of Liberty and Property. 1720. 8°.

(4.) SOME FOLLOWERS OF THE "TATLER," "SPECTATOR," AND "GUARDIAN."

NOTE.—I have, as a rule, included in this list only periodicals which have adopted names the same as or similar to those used by Steele. The particulars of foreign papers have been taken generally from French and German bibliographies, and are sometimes incomplete:—

- Female Tatler. 1709-10. 111 Nos. T. Baker. fol. (There was also a rival *Female Tatler* for a time, in 1709, published by A. Baldwin.)
- Tattling Harlot. 1709. 4°.
- Titt for Tatt. 1710. 5 Nos. fol.
- Northern Tatler. Edinburgh. 1710. fol.
- Tory Tatler. 1710-11. fol.
- Visions of Sir Heister Ryley. 1710-11. 4°.
- Tatler. By Donald Macstaff of the North. Jan. to April 1711. James Watson, Edinburgh. fol. (There was also a folio sheet (1710-11), "The Humble Address of Donald M'Staff of the North, in name of the M'Staffs there, to Isaac Bickerstaff, Censor of Great Britain.")

- Tatler. (By Harrison.) 1711. 52 Nos. fol. (No. 1 published Jan. 13 by A. Baldwin; after the first few numbers the paper was printed by Morphew. Reprinted in 12° in 1712 and subsequent years as "The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.; By W. H——n, Esq.; Dr. S——t, A. H——y, Esq., deceased: and several other hands. Vol. v.")
- 1711. J. Baker. fol.
- 1711. fol. (The first paper, numbered "272, 273," published on Jan. 6, by John Morphew.)
- Le Misanthrope. (By J. Van Effen.) The Hague. 1712-3. 2 vols. 12°. (The original numbers extended from 19th May 1711 to 26th Dec. 1712.)
- 1726. 12°.
- Der Vernünftler. Hamburg. 1713. 4°.
- Lay Monk. 1713-4. fol. (By Sir R. Blackmore. Reprinted in a 12° vol. as *The Lay Monastery*, 1714.)
- Spectator. 1714. fol. (The eighth volume, edited by Addison.)
- 1715. 62 Nos. Jan. 3 to Aug. 24. ("No. 636" to "No. 696.") fol. (Edited by William Bond, and reprinted several times in 12° as "Vol. 9" of the "Spectator.")
- Medley, or Daily Tatler. 1715.
- The Observer, Being a Sequel to the Englishman. 3 Nos. Feb. 25 to March 4, 1715. 4°.
- Spectator. June 3, 1716. fol. "To be published every Wednesday."
- Political Tatler. 1716.
- Der Spectateur oder Betrachtung über die verdorbenen Sitten der Welt. Nuremberg. 3 vols. 1719.
- Le Spectateur français, ou le Socrate moderne. 1719-21.
- Die Discourse der Mahler. Zurich. 1721. 3 vols. 8°. By Bodmer, &c. (An enlarged and corrected edition, in 2 vols., under the title, "Die Maler der Sitten." 1746.)
- Fairy Tatler. 1722.
- Le Spectateur François, by Marivaux. Paris. 1722. 2 vols. 12°.
- Paris. 1728. 2 vols. 12°. Nouvelle edition.
- Paris. 1752. 2 vols. 12°.
- Paris. Third edition. 1761. 2 vols. 12°.
- Le Spectateur suisse (Des Fourneaux). Paris. 1723. 12°.
- Der Leipziger Spectateur. Frankfort, Hamburg, and Leipzig. 1723. 8°.
- Le Spectateur inconnu (L'Abbé Granet). 1724. 12°.
- Le Babillard, ou le Nouvelliste Philosophe. 1724-5.
- Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen. By Gottsched. Leipzig. 1725. 2 vols. 8°. (Often reprinted.)

- Der freimütlige Tadler. Leipzig. 1725. 8°.
- Der getreue Hofmeister. Frankfort and Leipzig. 1725.
- Nouveau Spectateur François. 28 Nos. By J. Van Effen. The Hague. 1725. 8°.
- Amsterdam. 1742. 12°.
- Tatler Revived. 1727-8. fol.
- Le Spectateur littéraire. 1728. 12°.
- Universal Spectator. 1728-35. fol.
- La Spectatrice. Paris. 1728-30. 12°.
- Der poetische Tadler. Dresden. 1731. 4°.
- Hollansche Spectator, by J. Van Effen. Amsterdam. 1731-5. 12 vols. 8°.
- 1756. Amsterdam. 12 vols. 8°.
- Ernst en Boert [Grave and Gay] uit den Hollanschen Spectator. s'Gravenhage. 1851. 16°.
- De Patriot, of Duitsche Zedenmeester [edited by W. Richey] uit het Hoogduitsch vertaalt door M. de Ruuscher. Leyden. 1732. 8°.
- Englishman. By William Prynne, Esq. 1733. fol.
- Der allgemeine Zuschauer. Zelle. 1741. 4°.
- Female Spectator. 1744-6. 4 vols. 8°.
- 1755. Fifth edition. 4 vols. 8°.
- Der dänische Spectator. Aus dem dänischen ins deutsche ubers. Hamburg. 1745. 4°.
- Die vernünftigen Tadler und Tadlerinnen. Eisenach. 1745. 8°.
- Die deutsche Zuschauerin. Hanover and Gottingen. 1747. 8°.
- Le Babillard anglois. London. 1747.
- Le Spectateur danois. 1747.
- La Spectatrice danoise ou l'Aspasie moderne. 1749.
- Tatler Revived. 1750.
- La Spectatrice, trad. de l'anglois par Crochereau. La Haye. 1750. 4 vols. 12°.
- La Spectatrice, aus dem Engl. der Elisabeth Haywood. 1751.
- Der Leipziger Zuschauer. Leipzig. 1751. 8°. (Again in 1759.)
- Der neue französische Zuschauer. Aus dem französischen. Breslau. 1752. 2 vols. 8°.
- Spectator. 1753-4. fol.
- Der Vernünftler. Berlin. 1754. 2 vols. 8°.
- Der nordische Aufseher, herausgeg. von J. A. Kramer. Copenhagen. 2 vols. 1758.
- Le Nouveau Spectateur. Bastide. 1758. 8 vols. 12°.
- Babler. By Hugh Kelly. 1767. 2 vols. 12°.
- Le Spectateur en Prusse. (De la Croix.) 1768. 12°.

- Der patriotische Zuschauer, aus dem dän. ins deutsche. Flensburg. 1769-71.
- Die Zuschauerin an der Spree. Berlin. 1770.
- Le Spectateur François. By J. V. de la Croix. Paris. 1770-1. 3 vols. 12°. (In continuation of Marivaux's.)
— 1790 and 1791. Paris. 8°.
- Le Spectateur français. (Jean Castillon.) Paris. 1776. 8°.
- Le Babillard. (De Rutledge.) Paris. 1778-9. 3 vols. 8°.
- Englishman. 1779. fol.
- Englishman. 1783.
- Der Leipziger Zuschauer. 1784.
- Le Spectateur américain. (Mandrillon.) 1784. 8°.
- Calypso, ou les babillards. 1784-5. 3 vols. 8°.
- New Spectator. 1784-6. fol.
- Female Guardian. 1787. 12°.
- Le Babillard. 1789 and 1791. 8°.
- Le Spectateur. 1789. 8°.
- Le Spectateur à l'Assemblée nationale. Paris. 1789. 8°.
- Le Spectateur des États généraux. (S.L.) 1789. 8°.
- Le Spectateur patriote. 1789. 8°.
- Le Spectateur national. 1790. 4°.
- Theatrical Guardian. 1791. 4°.
- Le Babillard. Paris. 1791. 8°.
- Medical Spectator. 1791-3. 8°.
- Country Spectator. (Edited by T. F. Middleton, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta.) Gainsborough. 1792-3. 8°.
- Le Spectateur français pendant le gouvernement révol. (By La Croix.) Paris. 1795. 8°.
- Le Spectateur français. (Marchend and Valmalette.) An. 5. 12°.
- Le Mentor. An. 5. 8°.
- Le Babillard. (Cahaisse.) An. 5. 4°.
- Le Spectateur du Nord. Hamburgh. 1797-1802. 24 vols. 8°.
- Le Spectateur français au 19^e siècle. Paris. 1805-12. 12 vols. 1815-18. 3 vols. 8°.
- Christian Guardian. Bristol. 1802. 2 vols. 8°.
- Der europäische Aufseher. Leipzig. 1805.
- Nydanske tilskoer. Kyøb. 1807-8.
- Juvenile Spectator. 1813. 8°.
- Le Spectateur, by Malte Brun. 1814-5. 8°.
- Lo Spettatore . . . del Signor Malte-Brun, recate in Italiano. Milan. 1814. 3 vols. 8°.
- Lo Spettatore Italiano. (By David Bertolotti.) Milan. 1815-1818. 5 vols. 8°.

- Le Spectateur belge. (De Foëre.) 1815-20. 9 vols. 8°.
 Le Spectateur sous le gouvernement royal. Paris. 1817. 8°.
 Modern Spectator. 1818-19. 12°.
 Country Constitutional Guardian and Literary Magazine. (J. M. Gutch.) Bristol. 1822. 8°.
 Catholic Spectator. Third series. 1824-6. 8°.
 Le Spectateur français au xix. siècle. Paris. 1828. 8°.
 Christian Guardian and Church of England Magazine. 1822-51. 8°.
 Protestant Guardian. Preston. 1827-8. 8°.
 Literary Guardian and Spectator of Books. . . Vols. 1, 2. 1831-2. 4°.
 Lapsus Linguae, or College Tatler. 38 Nos. Edinburgh. 1824. 8°.
 Le Spectateur. 1826. 4°.
 Le Babillard. 1828.
 Le Spectateur. 1829. 8°.
 Tatler. Edited by Leigh Hunt. 1830-2. fol.
 ——— New Series. 1832. 4°.
 Edinburgh Spectator. 1832.
 Tatler and Theatrical Mirror. Dublin. 1834. 8°.
 Le Spectateur européen. (A. Manent.) 1834-5. 8°.
 Le Spectateur de Paris. 1835. 32°.
 Hawaiian Spectator. Honolulu. 1838-9. 2 vols. 8°.
 Spectator. Leicester. 1839. 12°.
 Le Babillard. (Froment and Héraclide.) 1840. fol.
 Le Spectateur de Londres. (Attributed to Guizot.) Londres. 1848. fol.
 Charterhouse Spectator. 1854-5. 10 Nos. 8°.
 Le Spectateur. 1857-8. fol.
 Norwich Spectator. Norwich. 1862. 8°.
 Spectator. Melbourne. 1865. fol.
 Oxford Spectator. Oxford. 1867-8. 4°. (Facsimile edition, Oxford, 1878.)
 Tatler in Cambridge. 80 Nos. Cambridge. 1871-2. 4°.
 Tatler, a once-a-week journal. 21 Nos. 1883-4. 4°.
-
- De Babbelaer (Dutch). Date not known.

At the present time there are well-known weekly papers published under the titles of "The Spectator" and "The Guardian." There is also a paper called "The Tattler."

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